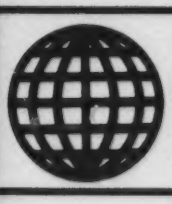

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Daily Report

East Europe

BIS-EEU-92-237
Wednesday
December 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-237 *09 December 1992*

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EC Rejects Visegrad Membership Application

LD0412225592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] The Visegrad Group countries' request to join the EC has been turned down, and the EC does not yet consider it possible to formulate a timetable on the three countries' joining. However, the Brussels body has proposed that at the forthcoming Edinburgh Community summit the gates be opened wider for the three countries' products.

CSFR, EC, Hungary Meeting Protocol Published

AU0512174692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Nov 92 p 3

["Text" of protocol of Brussels meeting of the CSFR, Hungary, and the EC on the issue of Bos-Nagymaros]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry authorized MTI to publish the protocol of the meeting of the CSFR, Hungary, and the EC on the Bos-Nagymaros issue in Brussels.

"The partners express their high appreciation of the level of the report made by the expert working group and the speed with which it was completed.

"They came to the following agreement on the basis of the London Protocol of 28 October 1992 and the above report:

"The CSFR and Hungary reconfirm their commitment to submit the debate on the Bos-Nagymaros issue and all its related matters, including the legal, financial, and environmental protection aspects, to the International Court. To this end, on the basis of the progress made so far, they agree to make a joint statement of submission in the very near future. In the interest of this, there will be a meeting in Budapest during the week beginning 30 November 1992.

"The CSFR and Hungary agree that until a decision is made by the International Court, in accordance with the 28 October 1992 London Protocol and based on the reports of the expert working group, they will apply a temporary arrangement on the water management of the Danube River. At the request of the two delegations, the committee will provide technical assistance to the operation of this solution.

"The partners agree to hold another tripartite meeting in Brussels within 15 days to finalize the agreements necessary for the implementation of the above."

Visegrad Deputy Defense Ministers Meet

LD0412214592 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 4 (MTI)—The Secretary of State of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, Erno Raffay, headed a delegation on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

Raffay attended the meeting of deputy defence ministers of the Visegrad Three (Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia). Participants reported on the situation of their armies, with particular attention to issues of the relation maintained by the armies in connection with society, and the situation of religious worship and culture.

In the course of his programmes, Raffay was received by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Czechoslovak Minister of Defence Imrich Andrejcak, and met the first deputy of the federal government's defence minister, Jiri Pospisil, who is in charge of creating the Czech Army, and with Colonel Bohumir Gerinec, the government commissioner in charge of setting up the Slovak Army.

Raffay and the Hungarian delegation returned to Budapest on Friday evening.

Further on Visegrad Military Talks

LD0512185892 Budapest MTI in English 1834 GMT 5 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 5 (MTI)—Both Hungary's security from the north and Slovakia's security for the south are guaranteed, Hungarian Defence State Secretary Erno Raffay said on Saturday.

Raffay spoke at a press briefing after talks with deputy defence ministers of Czechoslovakia and Poland in Czechoslovakia that ended on Friday.

It is in Hungary's interest that the separation of the Czech and the Slovak Republics should be quick and peaceful, Raffay said.

The division of the Czechoslovak Army into two has already started. The Czech and the Slovak Republics are to divide the Army and the equipment 2:1, thus the Czech Army will number 93,000, while the Slovak 47,000. The latter is fewer than half of the Hungarian Army but the Slovak Army has much more modern equipment, Raffay said.

The most modern equipment is to be divided evenly between the Czech and the Slovak Armies. Of the 20 Mig 29 fighters, Slovakia is to receive 10.

Despite all the arrangements, it will take two to three years before the Slovak Army becomes capable of operation since the separation is a complicated process. For the time being, Slovakia will have hardly any ammunition and missiles, because it will have to set up stores for the devices first.

Reporting on his talks with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Bratislava, Raffay said they agreed that the Gabcikovo dispute was not a military issue.

At the talks, Meciar put questions about military equipment Hungary expects to receive from Russia but acknowledged the two countries, agreement, Raffay reported.

Also, Raffay said, after his talks over the past days, he did not see the revival of the "little entente" realistic.

Ambassador Denies Socialist Slanders on Berisha

AU0812173692 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 6 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 6 (ATA)—Regarding the news on the visit of President Berisha to Egypt published on December 5, 1992 in the front page of the newspaper ZERI I POPULIT under the title "President Berisha Is Met at Cairo's Airport by the Minister of Agriculture of Egypt," the ambassador of Turkey [Egypt] Ahmand Nabawyissa states as follows:

Actually, the president of Egypt does not receive guests at Cairo's airport. The heads of states are formally received with all honours at the Republican Palace, especially on occasion of informal visits. President Berisha was met at the airport by the deputy premier and minister of agriculture. He also is secretary general of the National Democratic Party, today the ruling party in Egypt. President Berisha was officially received at the Republican Palace in Cairo by President Mubarak as president of Albania.

Unfortunately, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT is using the bilateral relations between Albania and Egypt at this moment as a material in the conflict between the Socialist Party and the Democratic one.

Berisha Comments on Islamic Membership

AU0812172092 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—Albania's membership to the Islamic Conference and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia make up the historic significance of the visit of the Albanian delegation at the meeting of the Islamic Conference, said President Berisha at the gathering with reporters on December 7. Commenting the political consequences of this act, President Berisha said that Albania as a European country, being member of this conference, undertakes a great mission, that of bringing nearer the peoples. Concerning the economic impact, they are very positive because currently Albania enjoys the support of the Islamic Bank of Development, which as for its economic practices, is equivalent to the World Bank. What separates Albania from Europe, said President Berisha, is the poverty and nondevelopment. Everything that contributes to the development of Albania makes more reliable its approach to Europe. It is in the interest of Albania and its policy that for certain issues in the UN to have the vote of 50 member states of this organization. As for the reaction of Europe, I think that it will be positive. Such countries as France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and the United States maintain very good relations with the Islamic countries.

In drafting its policy, Europe does not base on jealousy and ambition but on democratic principles reflected in the Albanian legislation. It was accepted member of the Islamic Conference under the clause of observing all the documents which comply with and do not run counter to the constitution of Albania. Seven other member countries of this organization are members of the European Council. Then President Berisha explained the reaction and misinterpretation of certain political circles abroad in regard to this decision adopted with courage and wisdom by the Albanian policy.

Explaining the old charge on the part of Serb circles in regard to the movement for independence in Kosovo, describing it as a fundamental movement, President Berisha said that there is only one fundamentalism in the Balkans, the Serb one, which menaces peace in the region. Confuting the theses of the Serb chauvinistic circles and of some certain North Epiriotes circles of Greece with the so-called dangerous Islamic are starting with the black seal to the Adriatic, he said that this thesis is spearheaded to the Albanians. But if one turns the eyes on reality, it is unacceptable, because the world is a witness to the peaceful coexistence of the Albanians with the other peoples in the region. It is their merit to cope with everything cool headedly, being at the same time the most humiliated people in Europe.

Responding to the question of a reporter in regard to a news in the Belgrade TV broadcast, according to which the Balkans is divided into worlds, on the one hand Serbia with Greece and Bosnia, Albania, and Turkey on the other, Mr. Berisha said: I don't believe there exists a Bosnia-Albania-Turkey block. I know that the relations between Belgrade and Athens have been traditionally good relations, but I don't think they are at the stage of block, because it would be difficult to accept that a democratic government, as the Greek one, to provide support to the dictatorship as is the dictatorship of Milosevic.

Meanwhile, Mr. Berisha also made clear the attitude of Albania to its neighbours, Italy and Greece, stressing that Albania's membership to the Islamic Conference poses no danger to the neighbours, on the contrary the neighbouring countries may profit from Albania's membership to this organization. As such there is no need for preliminary consultation. This does not impair the policy of bilateral consultations we follow in regard to these countries, said he. As for the question on how he judges the participation of Panic in the election, he said: I wish Milosevic should not win. Dealing again with the reaction of local political forces, the president said that those who oppose this membership are to be neglected and have no weight in the Albanian policy. This membership is supported by the parliamentary majority and the overwhelming part of the deputies of the other part of the parliament. This decision was the crowning of the decision adopted by the previous Albanian parliament in regard to Albania's admission to the Islamic Conference having the status of the observer. The concern for the Islamic Conference is a verdict of the Albanian people.

Submitting his views in regard to the spread of the conflict in the south, President Berisha said that Bosnia is tragic, it is the chronicle of a warned death not of an individual, but of a whole people. The fall of Sarajevo

will be a mourning day for those who are being killed and the assassins as well, for those who are looking, for Europe, and the whole mankind. The logic of the ongoing extension of the conflict leads to the conclusion that it will also expand in the south. Serbia launched two Balkan wars for Macedonia and there is no wonder it may launch the third. In this context our efforts on the international plan are powerful and can block every conflict. No doubt the step we took contributed to the strengthening of Albania's positions, that is, its current positions. During this meeting, Mr. Berisha answered a series of questions that had to do with the economic problems facing Albania actually.

Serreqi on Goals of Black Sea Countries Meeting

AU0812171292 Tirana ATA in English 0929 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—On December 10, the first session of the meeting of foreign ministers of Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea will hold its proceedings in Antalya of Turkey. This is a regional initiative on the cooperation of a group of countries, most of which have embarked on the road of market economy. Albania is constituent member of the Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea. Its main goal is to realize on a high scale the integration of the economy of these countries to the world economy.

In regard to the participation of Albania in this important international activity, the leader of the Albanian delegation, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi told the ATA that our country has taken part in all the meetings held in the context of the Economic Cooperation of the Black Sea. It has tried to render its contribution and simultaneously draw the necessary conclusions to draft the economic strategy of this initiative. As the country, which has suffered most from the political and economic totalitarian system and the isolation imposed by it, Albania along with its integration to the European Community is very much interested in extending economic cooperation even with the countries of this region.

This is also our goal at the meeting. We will air our views for questions that will be discussed and which have to do with the cooperation amongst the member countries for the development of our small and middle economies, the industrial cooperation, lifting of visas for the individuals who move in this zone for business, the abolition of double taxes, the establishment of the bank of trade and development of the Black Sea, etc. Our delegation will brief on the conditions and possibilities of the country, the priority areas for economic cooperation with the countries of this region.

Democratic Union Discusses Economic Affairs

AU0812174092 Tirana ATA in English 1123 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 7 (ATA)—The nationalistic party, the Albanian Democratic Union, Balli Kombetar, the Branch of Tirana, held on December 6 a meeting on the topic The Attitude of the Nationalistic Party to the Current Economic and Political State Facing Albania. The meeting stressed that this party is the heir of the good traditions of nationalism. As such it is extended both in the countryside and city as well. It carries out its activity under the motto For a Free, Democratic, and Ethnic Albania. The meeting also pointed out some main points of the program of this party. In the end there was also read the fax of the Albania-America Association centered in New York, addressed to the Albanian parliament. It demands from the parliament to turn the land to legal owners.

Tirana District Income 25 Percent of State Budget

AU0912184492 Tirana ATA in English 1135 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—Recently Tirana District reported on the fulfillment of annual tasks of the budget by the fiscal system. In regard to this, the chairman of the Taxes Branch of the District, Luan Pustina, told the ATA reporter:

The income of Tirana District in the state budget on national scale represents about 24 percent and this figure keeps increasing. The state and private subjects overfulfilled by 100 million leks the planned deposits to the budget for 1992. The tasks are realized in all the areas. Due to the effective work, the income to the state budget provided by the private sector in this district increased by about 15 percent as against 7 percent by the end of the first half. Both the state and private sectors have paid off their obligations.

Zhelev Won't Endorse Boyadzhiev If Dual Citizenship Exists

AU0812202492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] The following is a statement of the spokesman of the president of the Republic of Bulgaria.

In connection with reports that have appeared in the mass media about the dual citizenship of Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, proposed by the second parliamentary faction—the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the coalition, I have been authorized to announce the following:

By a decree issued on 2 December, the president of the Republic of Bulgaria entrusted Mr. Boyadzhiev with a mandate to form a cabinet. The period of seven days, as envisaged by the Constitution, expires tomorrow, 9 December. The president will strictly observe the requirements of Article 110 in connection with Article 65, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution, regarding the requirement that the members of the Council of Ministers should be only Bulgarian citizens. If it is established that along with his Bulgarian citizenship, Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev also has French citizenship, the president of the Republic will not issue a decree as required by Article 99 of the Constitution, on the basis of which he should propose to the National Assembly to elect Mr. Boyadzhiev as prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria.

SDS, DPS Agree on Voting on Boyadzhiev

AU0812210792 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] The parliamentary factions of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] have agreed on an open voting on Petur Boyadzhiev's cabinet on Thursday [10 December], Asen Michkovski told reporters. Mr. Evgeni Matinchev of the DPS parliamentary faction said afterward that this only is a general opinion and not a specific decision, and that the two parliamentary factions should decide separately on the matter.

It was decided that working groups of the SDS and the DPS should conduct consultations.

Boyadzhiev Meets BSP Parliamentary Faction

AU0812173092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] On 8 December Petur Boyadzhiev, candidate for the post of prime minister, met the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Petur Boyadzhiev and BSP representatives said that they are satisfied with the talks.

Petur Boyadzhiev stated that he had relinquished his French citizenship in a letter to the French Ministry of Justice, but refused to answer when and how the letter was sent.

Holds Talks With BSP, DPS MP's

AU0912090192 Sofia BTA in English 2118 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev, prime minister designate nominated by the second biggest parliamentary group led by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), had meetings with the Socialist MP's [members of parliament] and with representatives of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) at parliament today.

Mr. Boyadzhiev familiarized the MP's with the structure of his cabinet and some elements of his programme declaration. By decision of the team working on the formation of the cabinet, the names of candidates for ministerial seats were not specified. Mr. Boyadzhiev said he had not pronounced himself on the composition of the cabinet yet as he did not want to influence the team selecting the candidates. He also said he would prefer election by secret ballot. After the meeting with the Socialist parliamentary group, the spokeswoman for the Union for Bulgaria Party, whose leader Mr. Petur Boyadzhiev is, told journalists that the talks were useful, that in principle the Socialists had no objections against Mr. Boyadzhiev's draft programme and only noted that the new cabinet should take urgent measures for settling the problems of the military industrial complex and impose a moratorium on its possible privatization. Mr. Boyadzhiev will probably present his programme in full tomorrow. The Socialist MP's declined any comment on the meeting.

The DPS parliamentary group preferred to delegate three MP's who met with Mr. Boyadzhiev and acquainted themselves with his programme and intentions. After the meeting Mr. Sepetliev told journalists that the DPS representatives wanted to know what the new cabinet would do to continue the reform, reduce unemployment, improve human rights and develop mountainous and upland areas. Then the DPS parliamentary group gathered for a meeting at which the three MP's familiarized their colleagues with the information they had received from Mr. Boyadzhiev. There was no discussion on it and the DPS will not come up with an official statement, DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi said. In his opinion, the new cabinet should be elected by open vote ballot. The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] parliamentary group will also insist on open vote ballot.

At its meeting, the leadership of the National Assembly considered the possibility of electing the new cabinet on Thursday [10 December]. The seven-day term given to prime minister designate Petur Boyadzhiev under the Constitution to present his cabinet to the president expires tomorrow. If the president notifies parliament on the same day that the cabinet has been formed, the MP's should decide when the presentation of the new cabinet will be included in their agenda. Parliament may adopt a decision on the voting procedure tomorrow and invite

the prime minister designate to present his programme on Thursday when it will be discussed and his candidature put to the vote.

There has been some talk in the parliamentary lobbies that if Mr. Boyadzhiev has dual nationality (having emigrated to France, he lived there in the last years), this would contradict the Constitution and it would turn out that assigning him a mandate to form a government is unconstitutional. Mr. Boyadzhiev himself said he was acting in compliance with the Bulgarian law, but some MP's believe this issue should be clarified by the Constitutional Court. Nobody has ventured to predict the decision of the Constitutional Court in case the matter is referred to it.

"President Zhelyu Zhelev will comply with the respective clause in the Constitution under which the members of the Bulgarian Government must be citizens of Bulgaria only. If Mr. Boyadzhiev has dual nationality, i.e. if he is citizen of Bulgaria and France, the president will not issue a decree proposing to parliament to elect Mr. Boyadzhiev as prime minister," Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, said on television this evening.

National Security Adviser Discusses Tasks

First Installment

AU0812193592 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 1 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[First of two installments of interview with Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, president of the republic's adviser on national security questions, by Vacho Radulov; place and date not given: "Democracy and National Security Are Indivisible"]

[Excerpt] [Radulov] General, at the recent expanded meeting of the security and public order forces under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Mr. Arlin Antonov, director of the National Security Forces, complained that people at the higher echelons of power have not yet officially defined the concept of "national security," which deprives the activities of his service of their specific context. Would you commit yourself to a specific interpretation on this issue?

[Andreev] I think that Mr. Antonov is right, and he is not the only one to complain. The fact that the National Assembly failed to adopt a national security doctrine is permanently affecting our country's international prestige. We declare that we are pursuing a policy of noninterference, mutual respect, and good-neighbor relations, but this declaration is not supported by our national legislative organ.

The National Assembly has failed to adopt a law on defense and the Armed Forces. Hence, one minister can issue a specific decree, while another minister orders something different. This is inadmissible. Bulgaria is not a bureaucratic institution. It belongs to all Bulgarians and is linked to its neighbors, to Europe, to its former allies, and to the rest of the world under various aspects.

The National Assembly has failed to define the framework and the components of our internal security. Hence, it is impossible to specify the tasks of the organs in charge of guaranteeing security. It is a paradoxical situation that we are experiencing in the Balkans, that processes threatening our interests are developing in the close vicinity of our border, while our services that should react to such processes either have no specifically defined tasks or are just inactive. In numerous cases the reform of the security system is interpreted as a simple effort to destroy the old structures without establishing new structures to replace them or renewing the tasks of the old ones.

It has so far been impossible to specify the country's interests in all spheres of security and to defend them in accordance with our resources and interests.

Hence, we can say that Colonel Arlin Antonov's critical remarks are not only justified, but very topical.

I would like to point out a few more facts regarding the general criticism against our National Assembly for failing to adopt a national security doctrine.

National security should be defined as the state's capacity to guarantee the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty and the conditions of Bulgaria's development, according to a specific strategy mapped out by the National Assembly.

On the other hand, national security is also a specific system of institutions that are in charge of exercising the aforemention functions. Hence, the tasks of all such institutions must be defined and strictly coordinated at all levels of their implementation.

Who should adopt the laws on the structures and tasks of all institutions belonging to the security system, and on what basis should this be done? How should the executive power build up and operate individual institutions in charge of protecting national security? The experience of all democratic countries shows that this is done according to the following pattern: constitution, doctrine, legislation, instructions, and orders. Unfortunately, however, the majority of our national services were created either on the basis of a Central Committee Politburo resolution, or on the decision of the former Councils of Ministers, rather than by legal acts.

My third remark on the question is the following: The restructuring of the national security system and the definition of its current priorities is a task of gigantic scope that involves tremendous responsibility—it is, so to speak, the backbone of changing the entire sociopolitical system. Naturally, it cannot be entrusted to amateurs or even to people with a certain traditional experience. In the United States, for example, over 70 scientific research institutes are engaged at the service of the national security system. Not even one such institute

exists in our country at this time of crucial reform. National security should not be reformed according to the methods of experimental mistakes. Every mistake in this respect is likely to cost us losses of national prestige and even social mass tragedies.

Various groups of Bulgarian scholars and experts drafted a number of alternative programs for our national security within the last two years, but they did not reach the National Assembly because of sharp confrontations between different political forces. For the time being, Bulgaria is the only former socialist country that has no national security doctrine adopted by parliament. This is perhaps the reason for the existing shortcomings in the work of the defense and internal affairs departments, a work based on improvisation. Both our state and the employees of the two departments are paying a high price for such shortcomings. [passage omitted]

Second Installment

AU0812194592 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Dec 92 p 4

[Second of two installments of interview with Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, president's adviser on national security questions, by Vacho Radulov; place and date not given: "Democracy and National Security Are Indivisible"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Radulov] What should be done to create appropriate conditions for the National Intelligence Service in serving the interests of Bulgaria, rather than the interests of specific political forces?

[Andreev] We should adopt an act on the structures and activities of the National Intelligence Service in which all these questions should be specified.

[Radulov] Do you think that Bulgaria's national security is currently threatened, and if so, where does the menace come from, and how could we resist it?

[Andreev] We should not underestimate the internal or the external dangers. We live in the Balkans. Negative factors exist both concerning the internal and the international situation, factors that are affecting us on the basis of a chain reaction. Precisely at this moment, however, intentions of dismissing several officers from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Bulgarian Army on the grounds of their 20 years time of service are being voiced. This is exactly what our national security calls for, indeed! Who is making such reforms and with what right? This would be a matter of parliamentary and public control, but such things are simply ignored.

[Radulov] Mr. Stefan Savov and Mr. Lyubomir Pavlov wrote in TRUD and 168 CHASA that Bulgaria is still ruled by the KGB and the former regime's State Security. Is there a reason for such shocking assessments?

[Andreev] I think that the tales about the alleged influence of KGB and former State Security agents in Bulgarian state institutions are deliberately exaggerated. The authors of such rumors are seriously mistaken if they should think that they might benefit from them. There is a lot of indecency, incompetence, and ill-intentioned bias about such rumors. I am not the advocate of those who were accused, although Mr. Savov in citing Mr. Ludzhev has listed me among the KGB agents. However I would like to state as follows: For over 25 years I was actively engaged in scientific research work on the subject of national defense. Throughout those years I met and worked with scholars from all over the world. I am proud of having personally contributed to building up our military industry. I am also happy to have launched the fundamental ideas of reforming the Army and the intelligence services, as early as in 1987.

Dr. Zhelev, the president of the republic, and the members of his team have greatly contributed to easing the military-political tension between Bulgaria and Turkey. Today our bilateral relations with that country are considered a positive example for both Europe and the United States. I was amazed at being reproached on this subject, precisely. This makes me seriously wonder about the political decency of the people who are accusing others of being foreign agents. Serving the national security interests of a country requires uncompromising selflessness and lofty moral standards. This is a unifying principle for the Bulgarian nation. Nevertheless, I doubt whether the self-appointed democrats are capable of serving the Bulgarian nation and state in this manner.

[Radulov] General, in your opinion, which is the most urgently required and practically feasible measure for guaranteeing our national security today?

[Andreev] In my view, the most urgently required condition for this is to prevent the Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs from being involved in the current social confrontation. We should pursue the opposite goal—namely to apply strict discipline, and a lofty sense of responsibility and of concern about our state in the aforementioned organs, to rally all our nation around the idea of unity. This is how we should implement the ideals of democracy, which every Bulgarian citizen is ready to accept.

Commentary Views Zhelev's Role in Cabinet Crisis

AU0812171792 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 6

[Commentary by Dragomir Draganov: "President Already Runs Risks in the Game"]

[Text] For people in the know, even those who observe the processes from afar, President Zhelev, to a large degree, manages the processes that develop in our country.

The president utilized the strategic mistake of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which failed to make the only winning move, namely, to announce immediately after the negative vote on Filip Dimitrov that without

any conditions it transfers its mandate for the purpose of forming a government of national consensus. In the final analysis, the BSP leaders arrived at this idea, but they were too late, and this discredited the idea to a large degree. The narrow party interest that prompted the party to try to accumulate direct dividends from the constitutional mandate proved to be a poor adviser to the Socialists' parliamentary group.

At this stage the president also made a mistake. The Socialists received no support from him in their slow, almost conspiratorial process of warming up to the national consensus cabinet idea. Thus he won points in the process of gradually expelling the BSP from the political arena and turning it into a peripheral party. Will the state gain from this move? If the BSP fails to utilize its mandate, the Constitution provides for only one additional attempt, before early elections are announced. Wouldn't it be much more serious and statesmanlike to try to utilize the second attempt, than to wait for a miracle at the third? In any event, it is presently much more important how Bulgaria is ruled, rather than who rules it. Or perhaps someone wants to convince us that we do not have enough independent experts who could form a cabinet that would place the country's interests above party considerations?

BSP's 'Tactical Line' in Forming Cabinet Viewed

AU0812165592 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 4 Dec 92 p 6

[Commentary by Yakov Barukh: "BSP's Smile"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is smiling. It is not a really broad smile, but still, it can clearly be seen. It should have been different against the background of the continuing negative public attitude toward the BSP and Petur Boyadzhiev's extremely slim chances to form a cabinet, although nothing is impossible in this unpredictable parliament.

Something happened that prompted many people to ask themselves why they did not notice it in time: In the last week the BSP left its political isolation. It utilized the cabinet crisis the best and prompted parliamentary and extraparliamentary parties, the trade unions, and other social circles to hold talks with the BSP about the country's problems. It even succeed in something else: It succeeded in generating brief political support for the idea it proposed about an alternative formula in forming the cabinet, if not in this, then at least in a future parliament.

A new tactical line in the BSP's political behavior is emerging. In simple terms, its essence is in finding mediators for conducting a dialogue with the public. Prof. Zakhari Boyadzhiev was given a role in this play, despite the fact that he withdrew his candidacy. Petur Boyadzhiev came on the stage with a similar role. Two decent and politically responsible men doomed themselves to failure and a dim political future in the name of breaking the ice. The future will show whether it was worth it.

At the same time, there still are no BSP personalities whom the broad public would tend to believe.

Consequences of Rejecting Consensus Cabinet Viewed

AU0812170392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Stefan Prodev: "Reading Matter for Snowmen"]

[Text] The idea of forming a government of national consensus, raised and defended by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], appeals to a great part of the Bulgarian people. It actively becomes an idea of our time and political reality. Prof. Zakhari Karamfilov called it "a necessary formula for Bulgaria," and thanked the Socialists for implementing it. Except for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], no political force openly declared its opposition to the efforts of the BSP to form a government of a political balance, consensus, and a great national coalition. On the contrary, those efforts were applauded by all sober politicians who place Bulgaria's interests above their party interests. They not only proved that the formula is the country's salvation at present, but also that the BSP is the source of a new and positive energy in public life. Despite the fact that this truth does not appeal to the snowmen of the dark blue [SDS] rightist force, the majority of the people ever more openly demonstrate their support for the BSP. It already is no secret who thinks seriously about the country's fate and who irresponsibly wagers this fate on the political roulette.

The attempt to form a government of national consensus through the BSP mandate already produced its first casualty. The candidate for the post of prime minister, Mr. Karamfilov, was rejected by the SDS National Coordinating Council as a "communist agent," and was forced to leave the political scene. Those who place themselves above Bulgaria relied on their hatred and again demonstrated their narrow party nature. Unfortunately, they were actively supported by the ambiguous lack of willpower on the part of the presidency, something that hinted at secret moves aimed at foiling the BSP mandate. Those are facts that cannot be disproved or justified. It appears that the salvation formula of national consensus not only alarms, but also threatens certain circles, whose main goal is not to save the country from destruction but to eliminate the Socialists as a political force. It does not have to be proven that this is an improper goal, which equally unmasks the snowmen's egotism and national nihilism and the political duplicity of the highest state institution.

Of course, the negative attitude toward the candidacy of the Social Democrat Zakhari Karamfilov does not put an end to the efforts to form a government of national

salvation. On 2 December, the parliamentary faction of the BSP and coalition presented to the president a new candidate for the post of prime minister. This is Petur Boyadzhiev, chairman of the "Alliance for Bulgaria" Party. Mr. Boyadzhiev's personality will undoubtedly be a test for all those who play their evil game against the BSP mandate. This is the case not only because the new candidate is a noted Bulgarian dissident, and not only because he is one of the founders of the original SDS of which nothing is left today, but also because the gentleman is a sincere proponent of Europe and a real patriot. It is impossible to accuse Boyadzhiev of an unclear past of "communist bias." His only black mark is the fact that he was proposed by the Socialists, but this sounds like a joke, when forming a government of national consensus is at stake. By proposing Mr. Boyadzhiev's candidacy the BSP again proved that it is a party with a high national awareness, and that before thinking about itself, it thinks about Bulgaria. Unlike the SDS, it fully overcame its political egocentrism and makes most sincere efforts to save the country from the evil devils of the already obsolete political confrontation. Therefore, the candidacy of Mr. Boyadzhiev was not proposed accidentally. It has a profound symbolic meaning. Through it the BSP finally unlocks the gates of the political isolation imposed on it and assumes with dignity the place it deserves at the present difficult and responsible time.

All unscrupulous suggestions that the anticipated government of national consensus is a tactical move on the part of the Socialists are devoid of sense and logic. By proposing this idea, the BSP is not playing a sly game, but rather proposes a new style and moral in Bulgarian politics. The people are tired of small-time interparty quarrels and scandals, both in the parliament and at all levels of the power. They openly desire a civic understanding and a sound public climate. Therefore, the new governmental formula, proposed by the BSP, is the formula of the national hope. Resisting this formula, regardless of the reasons, is devoid of any serious future. It could block its implementation for a moment, if two of the political forces represented in the parliament do not tame their petty antisocialist passions, but this resistance would by no means deprive it of the goodwill invested in it. The formula proclaimed by the BSP was created a long time ago. By dealing with it carefully, the nation will be able to overcome its acute conflicts and will find the most precise road in its complex development. Let us hope that the snowmen from the right side of life fully recognize this simple truth. Otherwise we will face not only a grave political winter but also a sad life devoid of any hope.

Dimitrov, Dogan Absent From SDS-DPS Meeting

AU0912185892 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Is there a hope for conducting a dialogue between the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. This is being discussed at a joint meeting of the two parliamentary factions, which has opened, and in which some party leaders of the SDS coalition are taking part.

The voting on Petur Boyadzhiev's cabinet on 10 December is the topical issue under discussion at the meeting. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, and Ivan Kurtev, SDS chief secretary, are not attending the meeting. Ahmed Dogan, DPS leader, is also absent.

Government Wants Deferral of Debt to Creditors

AU0812131392 Sofia BTA in English 1112 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—Bulgaria wants a new deferral of its debt to its Paris Club creditors.

In a statement for the PARI daily for financial and business news, Deputy Finance Minister Svetoslav Gavriyski said that a meeting will be held between a Bulgarian delegation and Bulgaria's creditors of the Paris Club early next week. It will discuss the rescheduling of the external debt payments for 1992 to the countries with which Bulgaria has already reached agreements. The 1991 agreements with 12 of the 14 countries of the Paris Club are now expiring and have to be renewed. Bulgaria has not signed an agreement only with Spain and the Netherlands.

According to the chief of the Bulgarian delegation, there are good reasons to expect a normal progress of the negotiations and a favourable outcome for Bulgaria. Mr. Svetoslav Gavriyski's hopes are based on the fact that so far Bulgaria has fulfilled its agreements with the countries of the Paris Club and on the support by all parliamentary forces.

So far Bulgaria has paid 52 million U.S. dollars to seven of its official creditors and after the agreements with the others are ratified by parliament, it will pay 50 million U.S. dollars more.

Bulgaria's private bank creditors will receive 38 million U.S. dollars in interests at the end of the last quarter of 1992, Mr. Svetoslav Gavriyski is quoted as saying by the 24 CHASA daily today. This sum amounts to 25 percent of the overdue interests for the period and will be paid after the Christmas holidays. This will be the second payment effected by Bulgaria on its external debt to the private banks after in March 1990 the socialist cabinet of Andrey Lukanov declared a moratorium on all debt payments.

Despite the cabinet crisis in Bulgaria the next round of the negotiations on its external debt to the private banks will be held on December 11 in Frankfurt. Last week representatives of the bank advisory committee of the private banks were assured in Sofia that regardless of the political crisis in Bulgaria there is national consensus on the problems of Bulgaria's external debt. Mr. Svetoslav Gavriyski told 24 CHASA that on Friday [4 December]

in Frankfurt the Bulgarian delegation will receive an official answer from the creditors to the new Bulgarian proposal on the settlement of Bulgaria's external debt.

Turkish Delegation Studies Investment Possibilites

AU0912090092 Sofia BTA in English 2201 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—A five-member Turkish business delegation led by Mr. Ak Dogan, adviser to the Turkish Minister of State, arrived in Bulgaria today under an agreement with the Bulgarian Industry Ministry.

The Turkish delegation, which was received by Deputy Industry Minister Todor Nenchev today, will study the opportunities for investments in areas of mixed populations. The last couple of months saw new waves of mass emigration to Turkey from regions of compact Turkish population. "We aim at industrial cooperation, establishment of joint ventures, opening of new jobs in these regions and high returns for Bulgaria," Industry Ministry officials explained in a TV broadcast tonight, saying that any possibility of economic dependence was out of the question.

The Turkish delegation is expected to meet the mayors of Plovdiv (southern Bulgaria), Burgas and Varna (on the Black Sea) and Ruse (on the river Danube). The prospects for invigoration of bilateral trade were high on the agenda of talks at the Industry Ministry today. The guests received a list of Bulgarian-made goods and commodities, which this country offers for export to Turkey.

Causes of Emigration to Turkey Viewed

AU0912185492 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 8 (BTA)—About 60 percent of Bulgarian citizens who emigrated to Turkey have found well-paid jobs because most of them are highly qualified specialists, Ms. Daniela Bobeva, an expert at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, told a press conference at the Presidency today. According to her, the major reason for the migration to Turkey is the worsened social and economic situation in the municipalities inhabited by ethnically and religiously mixed population.

The press conference was told that the survey of the condition and the prospects of municipalities in the region of Khaskovo (southern Bulgaria), conducted by the Economy 2000 Club at request of the office of President Zhelyu Zhelev, had been completed. The analysis shows that urgent measures should be taken to improve the economy and work out a comprehensive strategy for the development of that region. According to Mr. Mikhail Ivanov, the president's adviser on national, ethnic and religious affairs, one of the purposes of the survey was to make the executive branch commit itself to the settlement of the most painful social and economic problems of the area.

Official Says Bugging Incident Under Investigation

LD0812212292 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 8 (CTK)—The case of Saturday's [5 December] disclosure of a bugging device in the building of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava is being investigated by a special commission, Slovak Government spokesman Bohuslav Geci told journalists today. He declined to say who appointed the commission or name its members.

It has been agreed that no information about the matter will be provided before the end of the investigation, Geci said. He added that this is why today's government press conference was not attended by Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna. Geci also refused to answer some questions concerning the case.

Slovak bodies have no powers in connection with this affair. You must address your questions to the Federal Interior Ministry or the bodies of the Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS), Geci said.

Speaking at today's session of the Slovak Government, Tuchyna said the investigation of the bugging case has not yet brought any new information to light. He said the Slovak Government will take a stand on the case only after the investigation is completed and its results announced.

* * *

Prague—Zdenek Zikmund, director of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Press Department, told CTK that since November 1989 (the fall of communist rule in Czechoslovakia—ed.), several countries running their representative offices or consulates in Czechoslovakia have turned to the ministry demanding removal of bugging devices from their buildings.

Zikmund said he cannot specify these countries or state their number. In any case there have been less than five of them, he said.

Slovak Ministry Rejects Accusations

LD0812222092 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] The Interior Ministry of the Slovak Republic does not have bugging devices at its disposal. The installation and servicing of bugging devices has been under the jurisdiction of the members of the Federal Interior Ministry for decades. According to the criminal code, it was a duty of the police to request a prosecutor's permit for using bugging devices.

This was said in a statement of the Slovak Ministry of Interior, issued in connection with fabricated information in the daily METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF. An article in this paper claims that the bugging device in the U.S. Consulate General was used with the knowledge of Vladimir Meciar.

The ministry describes as fantastic, to say the least, the accusation in this article that there was an alleged agreement between the Slovak Ministry of Interior and the KGB about passing on information.

The Bratislava U.S. Consulate affair raises the question of who is trying so hard to damage the reputation of the Slovak Republic and its Interior Ministry. It seems that the authors of the campaign do not shrink from using obvious lies and slanderous personal attacks, the statement says.

Russian, Czech Ministers Hold Relations Talks

LD0812232092 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Economic relations between the Czech Republic and Russia, as well as the role of CSCE were the principal subjects of talks held in Prague today by Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Zieleniec and Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vitaliy Churkin. They discussed, among other things, Russian debt in relation to Czech enterprises.

Minister Zieleniec voiced certain doubts felt by the Czech Republic about a possibility to include money the Russian Federation owed to Czechoslovakia in the debts—the settlement of which is regulated by the so-called Paris Club consisting of 17 states to which Russia owes money.

Vitaliy Churkin briefed Josef Zieleniec about Russia's proposals how to make the CSCE's mechanism more effective. He also conveyed to Josef Zieleniec an invitation by Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Russian diplomacy, to visit Russia in the first half of January next year.

Knazko, Russia's Churkin Discuss Cooperation

LD0812235192 Prague CTK in English 2321 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 8 (CTK)—Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin met today to discuss an agreement on Russian-Slovak cooperation, now under preparation, and possibilities of cooperation in the fields of economy, culture, education, and information.

Churkin said Slovakia's request for recognition after the Czechoslovak Federation splits on January 1, 1993, will be answered by Russia promptly and positively. The Russian Federation will do its best to support the Czech and Slovak Republics' joining the international community, he said.

Czechs, Syrians To Strengthen Economic Relations

LD0912132792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1900 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus, at talks with Syrian Deputy Premier Salim Yasin yesterday, spoke in favor of further improving mutual economic relations. According to him, Czechoslovakia continues to be interested in the increasing supplies of investment units, equipment for the energy sector, technologies, and perhaps in the use of our experts.

For the purpose of resolving payments of Syria's debts in Czechoslovakia Rudolf Filkus suggested that a joint committee be created. The committee would consist of representatives of important bodies of the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, and Syria.

Daily Claims Klaus Seeks To Limit Havel's Powers

AU0812200792 Prague CTK in English 0845 GMT 3 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)— The daily MLADA FRONTA DNES contemplates reasons which might have led Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus to cross out from a government draft constitution for the Czech Republic some paragraphs concerning powers of a future Czech president. In the daily's view, one of the reasons might have been quite understandable apprehensions that Vaclav Havel, if elected, will surround himself by politicians from the ranks of the Civic Movement (OH), who will thus return to the political scene in spite of their defeat in the June parliamentary elections. [passage omitted]

Klaus Reacts to Allegation

AU0812201192 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 Dec 92 p 6

[Article by Vaclav Klaus: "The So-Called Deletions in the Constitution"]

[Text] I do not know what the "reliable sources from the Office of the Government" are from which Mr. Leschtina and Novacek drew their information for the MLADA FRONTA DNES article yesterday (entitled "What Has Led Vaclav Klaus to Make Deletions in the Constitution"). Anyway, the story about the deputy prime minister having defied, in a one-hour duel, efforts by the prime minister, who at the last moment had decided to overstep the framework of coalition talks and to restrict the powers of the president, does not correspond to reality and needs to be corrected.

The authors of the article speak about three amendments—about limiting the president's right to suspend laws only in case of constitutional laws, about deleting the word "negotiates" from the sentence "negotiates and ratifies international treaties," and finally, about canceling the right of the president to demand reports from the ministers of the government and to discuss important questions with them. Allegedly, the existing Constitution allows the president to communicate with the government only through, or in the presence of, the prime minister. I must say that of the three amendments the authors of the article mentioned, only the first one was discussed more profoundly (but not for one hour), and only this change was accepted by the mentioned "narrow majority of one vote." The readers should know that precisely this change was no surprising novelty to anyone. The right to suspend constitutional laws was intensively discussed at many meetings of the Governmental Commission for Drafting the Constitution, and this idea had its supporters and its principal opponents in that commission. The remaining two amendments were accepted by the government quite unequivocally, without excited discussions. To present this matter as deletions made by "Vaclav Klaus" is an absolute distortion of the entire situation and implies personal involvement, which I am strictly rejecting.

From the businesslike point of view, I consider as a more important the fact that the article by Leschtina and Novacek tries to disclose the motives that have led me or the government to allegedly making the deletions from the Constitution, and the fact that it contains serious accusations. The term "deletions" is very misleading. In four months, there have repeatedly been amendments to the draft constitution. In all cases, there were changes and modifications, but no "deletions." According to these authors, by these changes that I succeeded in having "pushed through," the equilibrium of rights between "the three pillars of parliamentary democracy"—parliament, the president, and the government—has been disturbed. The internal harmony of the Constitution has been sacrificed because of "exaggerated concerns about legislative delays, or momentary concerns regarding possible political opponents." This, too, is extremely misleading. The changes the government made are not linked to the person of Vaclav Havel, and I would be in favor of these changes even if someone else were the presidential candidate. Let us describe these changes. I do not believe that parliament, the president, and the government are the three pillars on which parliamentary democracy is based. I am inclined to adopt a more traditional concept that speaks about legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Moreover, I am strongly convinced that presidential powers that have been restricted (but not eliminated) in the most recent governmental draft constitution, would disturb the balance in our Constitution. The right to suspend any laws unnecessarily duplicates the same right of the Senate. It would make sense only if we had a one-chambered parliament. It is good that the government has been deprived of certain possibilities to suspend laws—through the president—laws that the government does not agree with. Any right—hidden or indirect—of the government to suspend laws would establish an unheard-of supremacy of the executive organs over the legislative ones and would endanger the very foundations of parliamentary democracy. I am saying: This idea

is not implemented in the Slovak constitution, either. The president's right to demand reports from ministers and to discuss problems with them, problems regarding their own sectors would duplicate the function of the prime minister and would force the president to establish a vast apparatus surrounding him. In a better case, this could bring chaos into the government's agenda, in a worse case, it could reduce government's capability of taking actions. The formulation "negotiates and ratifies" is extremely unclear to me. In other constitutions the word "concludes" is used. The Italian Constitution, for example, uses the same wording as our draft constitution.

All the three kinds of powers, about which there is the dispute, are inspired by the constitution of the first republic [Czechoslovakia between 1918 and 1938]. In countries that have not directly decided to adopt the presidential system, and in our own country, there is an unprecedented consensus that we to not want a presidential system—presidential powers were gradually limited, compared to those in the twenties and thirties (for example in Germany). It is unnecessary to unleash domestic political passions by saying that the "head of the state" will be belittled by having been deprived of certain powers belonging to executive organs. Whether this head of state will only be a "decoration" will not depend on the number of his executive powers but on his political expertise and moral level, particularly his ability to unite all the people of this country.

The constitution is the cornerstone on which the political life of the Czech Republic will rest, for long years to come. If the foundations are incorrectly laid, then not only us, but also generations that come after us will feel it. Therefore, let us act calmly in a businesslike manner, without prejudice.

Strasky Speaks About Federal Government

AU0912190792 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 4 Dec 92 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky by Miroslav Honzik; place and date not given: "Half an Hour With the Federal Prime Minister"]

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Dr. Jan Strasky kept his word and again found time for METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF correspondents. Although his office will be terminated on 31 December 1992, i.e., in just about a month, he cannot complain about a lack of work. This time, we added to the questions concerning the Federal Government those that are of interest or concern to the Czechoslovak public.

[Honzik] The end of the year is approaching, and a question of legal procedure comes to mind: To whom will the government present its resignation?

[Strasky] Yes, that is a question of legal procedure, with which we will still have to deal. I presume that it will be to the Federal Assembly Presidium.

[Honzik] But the Federal Assembly will also be terminated.

[Strasky] It is a question of sequence. Maybe the Federal Assembly Presidium will be dissolved after it accepts our resignation.

[Honzik] Is it not very likely that the Czech president would be elected immediately on 2 January. There is probably going to be some kind of makeshift arrangement. Will you also substitute for the Czech president?

[Strasky] No, not under any circumstances. I substitute for the federal president, and this office ends together with all the other federal institutions. The Czech president will "originate" in the constitution, and before he is elected, someone will probably act on his behalf. Of course, it does not automatically mean myself.

[Honzik] Hence, commencing 1 January, there will be a period without a government.

[Strasky] No, not without a government, only without a president.

[Honzik] Let us talk about something else. The public is interested in the actual procedure of replacing Czechoslovak banknotes with the Czech bills.

[Strasky] That is a question for the State Bank governor rather than for me. Nonetheless, he would not answer it either, because such measures are not discussed beforehand. Of course, there are several ways to mark the currency so that they circulate separately and can be distinguished. The new currency may be gradually added, or a form of marking the old notes could be chosen. Which form is going to be applied, however, the governor would not tell even me.

[Honzik] The concept of public debt appeared in public for the first time as the budget was discussed. What can be done about it?

[Strasky] One must realize that the federal debt arises from the current accounts on the one hand and from various measures on the other hand, that are introduced in the framework of terminating the CSFR. One example is the settling of accounts with the Czech Trade Bank. That will increase the final deficit of the Federation. The corrective financial measures will be substantial, and the Czech Government acted on this in its draft budget. What can be done about it? That is with the public debt? Most probably, it cannot be covered from the revenues of the new states. That, however, is the problem for the budgets of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

[Honzik] The division of the cultural heritage and of the buildings constructed from the funds of the Federation are again becoming the talk of the day.

[Strasky] The republics have already formed a commission, on which I happen to sit for the Czech Government. The division of the cultural heritage is fairly obvious, although some points of contest and "forgotten

objects" may be found. The origin of most artifacts can be documented, and therefore it is not important where they happen to be at this very moment.

The question of buildings and facilities is different. We insist on the territorial principle of division.

[Honzik] What are we talking about here?

[Strasky] The Slovak side has not yet made any specific comments. I am convinced that there will be some instances worth talking about—the parliament, or the addition to the Ministry of the Economy, for instance—but we are not prepared to violate the territorial principle even there.

[Honzik] How long will the Federal Government stumble over the Gabcikovo issue?

[Strasky] It will keep stumbling for a while longer. All negotiations on international level—in Brussels, for instance—are conducted from our side as federal negotiations. We must build on the international position of Czechoslovakia as a state that exists until the end of the year.

[Honzik] There are more reports all the time in Bohemia of financial—let us say euphemistically discrepancies—affairs. Would an independent review body help here?

[Strasky] These are republic problems, and I know of some of them from the time I worked in the Czech Government. These are very complex problems, and it often is a matter of a claim and a counterclaim. It might border on corruption, but that is a matter for courts to decide.

Slovak Council Address to World Parliaments

AU0912190692 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Dec 92 p 2

["National Council of the Slovak Republic Declaration Issued to the Parliaments and Nations of the World" in Bratislava on 3 December 1992]

[Text] On 1 January 1993, the Slovak Republic will—as one of the two successor states to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic—become an independent and sovereign state.

The Slovak Republic as a sovereign and fully-fledged member of the international community of states will proceed in its domestic and foreign policy from the values endorsed by other democratic states, such as unconditional respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the principles of a pluralist democracy and a law-governed state. The thorough implementation of these values forms a basis for freedom, justice, and peace.

The Slovak Republic will be governed in international relations by the rules of international law and also by the aims and principles enshrined in the UN Charter, in the CSCE Final Act, in the Paris Charter For the New Europe, and in other CSCE documents.

The Slovak Republic, as one of the legal successors to a founder member of the United Nations, expresses its will and readiness to become a regular member of this global international organization. The Slovak Republic accepts all the obligations pertaining to the United Nations that were endorsed by the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic until 31 December 1992. It expresses its resolve to become wholeheartedly involved in UN activity and in the activity of its specialist organizations and thus contribute to fulfilling all the United Nations' aims and principles in the interest of supporting peace and security and of carrying out UN tasks in all spheres of its activity.

The Slovak Republic will assist in the development of cooperation in Europe with the aim of creating an effective pan-European security system and of contributing to the further development of the process of European integration.

The Slovak Republic is interested in becoming a member of the Council of Europe soon and in becoming a signatory—succeeding the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic—to the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and to all the binding documents that supplement the Convention, including the declarations recognizing an individual's right to submit complaints about human rights violations to the European Commission and the European Court For Human Rights.

The Slovak Republic will thoroughly fulfill its obligations regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, reductions in its armed forces, and disarmament to a level adequate for its defense, and it will strive to increase trust and stability on a multilateral and a bilateral basis.

The Slovak Republic will respect the rights of and fulfill its obligations toward ethnic minorities and ethnic groups in accordance with the norms of international law, with international standards, and with the obligations adopted at the CSCE forum.

The Slovak Republic will create political, economic, contractual, and legislative conditions for its gradual integration into and future membership of the main European economic, political, and defense organizations. It accepts the obligations endorsed by the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic in the European Association Agreement and is interested in their speedy transfer to the Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Republic will strive to be included in international trading relations and the world economy and promptly to become a member of GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Bank For Reconstruction and Development. It will also strive for further cooperation with these organizations.

The Slovak Republic, as one of the two successor states to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, in harmony with the valid norms of international law, and to

the extent stipulated by it, will regard the multilateral and bilateral treaties and documents to which the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic had been a party to be binding as of 1 January 1993.

The Slovak Republic will assume responsibility for its share in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic's liabilities with respect to third countries and international organizations in accordance with the appropriate constitutional law and the Treaty Between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on Dividing the Property of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. The Slovak Republic will try to resolve all questions associated with legal succession by agreement with the Czech Republic.

The Slovak Republic is prepared to establish diplomatic ties with other states and to develop relations with them based on the principles of equality, nonintervention in internal affairs, territorial respect, political independence, and inviolability of state borders.

The Slovak Republic will pay particular attention to relations with the Czech Republic. It will strive for a level of cooperation and coordination of mutual ties that guarantees the preservation of these ties between the two states, ties that serve their citizens' best interests.

The National Council of the Slovak Republic appeals to the parliaments and nations of the world in the hope that they will support the Slovak Republic's entry into the international community as an equal partner and that they will contribute to creating all the conditions for ensuring that the Slovak Republic can completely fulfill its aims and resolutions.
Bratislava, 3 December 1992.

Deputies Agree To Discuss Power Transfer Bill

LD0812195792 Prague CTK in English 1814 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 8 (CTK)—The leaders of deputies' groups in the Czech National Council (parliament) today agreed that a bill on taking over federal powers after Czechoslovakia's split should be discussed by the Czech parliament yet before it adopts a Czech Constitution. Czech parliament Vice Chairman Jan Kasal told CTK there was not anybody protesting this decision.

The Czech parliament Constitutional and Legal Committee last week suspended debate about the draft bill until a draft Czech Constitution is discussed in parliament. The chairmen of four coalition parties, however, demanded that the bill be passed before the adoption of the Constitution.

According to Kasal, the Czech parliament will discuss a draft bill on the transfer of federal parliament deputies elected in the Czech Republic to the Czech parliament after discussing the draft Constitution. Between December 15 and 31, the Czech parliament is to hold four sessions to decide about the Constitution and budget of the Czech Republic, Kasal said.

As of January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia will be divided into independent Czech and Slovak Republics.

Klaus, Croatian Ambassador Discuss Economic Relations

LD0812195392 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 8 (CTK)—At their meeting in Prague today, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Croatian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Zlatko Stahuljak discussed mainly future relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia [as received], namely the economic ones, Klara Pospisilova from the Czech government office told CTK.

The Croatian diplomat pointed to a great decrease in trade between Czechoslovakia and Croatia to date. That is why a Czech government member will visit Croatia in the first quarter of 1993 to set the foundations of Czech-Croatian cooperation, Pospisilova said.

The Czech Republic will become independent after the Czechoslovak Federation splits as of January 1, 1993.

Foreigners Blamed for Worsening Security Situation

LD0812155492 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) holds the view that foreigners are largely to blame for the worsening security situation in Czechoslovakia, CSSD Chairman Jiri Horak told journalists today.

Horak said CSSD deputies to the Czech National Council (Parliament) intend to ask the Czech interior minister about the issuing of residence permits to foreigners, conditions of expulsion and observance of the permitted length of their stay. The interpolation is to be submitted this week.

Referring to Saturday's armed attack on Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Horak said that even if the attack had no political motivation and was a madman's act it is a marked and alarming symptom of the security situation in Czechoslovakia.

It can be only guessed to what extent this situation can be attributed to a low political culture and political consciousness burdened by the heritage of the former totalitarian regime, Horak said.

According to the CSSD, the government coalition parties concentrate almost completely on constitutional issues while functioning of state administration is deteriorating, mainly in the Czech Interior Ministry, Horak added.

Antall on Hungary's Aid to Somalia, Other Issues

LD0912122292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1408 7 Dec 92

[Speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at meeting of National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] I will try to speak briefly and not misuse your time. The first issue I have to speak of is the request that arrived in a letter dated 3 December from the President of the United States for Hungary's participation in the military safeguarding and escorting of humanitarian aid deliveries for Somalia. On this issue the reply was taken to President Bush by Gyula Kodolanyi, state secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. In accordance with the preliminary request of the UN secretary general, given the fact that a UN action is concerned, I would not like to go into details. Hungary's participation has been requested by the United States and this is obviously related to a joint foreign political measure taken by the current U.S. President as well as by the newly elected administration, that is, the new President.

The Hungarian reply contains those elements that are justifiable in this subject matter. First, Hungary acknowledges the fact that as a result of starvation in Somalia and the situation that has evolved there, UN humanitarian intervention is necessary and the proper delivery of humanitarian aid as well as the curbing of gangs of looters which hamper this, etc., must be supported. At the same time, naturally, we will point to Hungary's situation, the conditions that have evolved here, the seriousness of the situation of Yugoslavia, as well as to the issue of these burdens relating to Hungary.

As to the third part, we indicated that the Hungarian Government will propose participation. This can be related to health care, transportation, and the participation of a smaller military unit for a set period of time—the participation of one, two, or three companies which could happen strictly on a voluntary basis and with the consent of the Hungarian National Assembly. In this context the Hungarian ambassador is today holding talks with competent American organizations, and obviously with regard to the given situation, with UN organizations about what the financial aspects are and under what conditions this can take place. It is obvious that this requires preparation and precise knowledge of the circumstances. We are going to make proper arrangements and following my announcement this will be proposed to the National Assembly and naturally, with the proposal of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Defense Affairs Committee it will be presented to the House.

Therefore, I would like to ask for approval of this preliminary statement. For my part, I consider it of great importance that Hungary should participate in a humanitarian action which at the same time indicates the solidarity of the commonwealth of nations with regard to the view that in a UN peacekeeping or similar kind of action neighboring countries never participate. For this reason, Hungary, for instance, does not participate in the peacekeeping forces stationed in Yugoslavia, precisely because of being neighbors. [passage omitted]

The second issue, and it is partly related to this, and I regret that Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is not present because, with no intention of bringing before parliament political issues spoken outside parliament, I must however react in parliament before the National Assembly and the population to a remark I learned from the press. Gyula Horn claimed that the matter of rolling dollars was a small item compared with the one that Hungary had channeled to Russia in the framework of the Yeltsin-Antall agreement—and he immediately rounded up this sum which we remitted to one billion dollars. In connection with this let me state on the one hand that the case of the rolling dollars is being investigated by the prosecution. The Hungarian Government intends to settle this issue within the framework of Hungarian justice and not by linking it with questions having no connection whatsoever with that.

The other thing is that the Hungarian Government did not cancel anything from the former Soviet trade debt. The ministers of foreign economy signed a protocol on Soviet debt repayment. Russia undertakes the total Soviet ruble debt converted into dollars with a 0.92 exchange key. The Hungarian debt of 300 million rubles will be deducted from the Soviet debt and we will convert into dollars the remaining debt of about 1.8 billion rubles. Russia will be delivering military equipment up to the value of 800 million dollars in 1992-93 as partial repayment. The sides will agree on the principles of repayment and the deadline of the remaining debt by 31 December 1992. This means that the Hungarian Army is equipped with weapons of the Soviet system and this Soviet equipment is necessary to maintain at least its functioning. It serves Hungary's security that we receive this at least in this coming period. So, with regard to the sum in question, the fact that we can purchase in the value of 800 million dollars serves the interests of the Hungarian Army and Hungary. [passage omitted]

Other countries gave Russia four or five years to repay its debts but we did not accept that. As a result, I deem it very serious if at any forum—if those reports published in the press are true—the chairman of the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee should make such a remark and address such groundless accusations to the Hungarian Government, which we reject most firmly.

On the other hand, he did this after the Hungarian Government had achieved, alone in the region, the zero-balance settlement regarding accounts related to Soviet troop withdrawal. Perhaps I can recall that in the first two years we could hear nothing else but how much damage the Hungarian Government had been causing in its relations with the Soviet Union, how we were ruining Russian-Hungarian ties, despite the denial of President Gorbachev and later Yeltsin. Foreign Affairs Committee

Chairman Gyula Horn stated this, and I also have to reject this. Similarly, I can add the point here that the result we achieved with the mutual renouncement is presumably quite significant for Hungary and we have to indicate that it is a rather significant achievement. [passage omitted]

That is all I would like to say at this time. If no other remark is made I have finished my preagenda contribution. I regret that Mr. Chairman Gyula Horn is not present because I would have liked to say this in his presence.

Finally I add that the members of the government and those who were beneficiaries of the former system, either as chief directors of museums, or catering industry chiefs, or others, I think that comparing those with either a law-enforcement service, while we were sitting in the transit prisons on Marko Street [in Budapest] or in Kistarcsa, and then achieved something as experts, falls into the category of political pornography. Thank you.

German Official Encourages Nation To Join NATO

AU0812164392 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Dec 92 p 3

["K.K."-signed report: "Bonn Encourages Hungary To Request NATO Membership—To Make Use of the Parliaments' Scope for Maneuver"]

[Text] Even though Hungary, Poland, and the CSFR can only have full EC membership after a certain period for economic reasons, these countries should indicate as soon as possible that they would like to join NATO, Hans Stercken, chairman of the German Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, said. On 1 December, he met with members of the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. He suggested that his Hungarian colleagues should not only be considering issues related to NATO membership but that they should make an early decision on their application for membership. As a way of encouragement, he added that he had spoken to NATO's European commander in chief over the weekend, who had shared his views. The commander in chief has already been to Alma-Ata and Kiev—perhaps it would be worthwhile to invite him to Budapest, too, he said.

We cannot foresee very well the European processes in the coming decades, but the Visegrad three countries should be given full membership in the EC as soon as possible, he said. At the same time, in his view, it is unrealistic to extend the EC east of Poland.

Relations between Macedonia and Greece were mentioned a number of times during the 1 December talks. In Stercken's view, the problem is caused by the interpretation, rather than the usage, of the name. In his view, the leadership in Skopje should be made to understand that they should change the constitution because the ambitions of establishing a Greater Macedonia violate the Helsinki Final Document. If the Macedonian politicians accept this, then it will also be possible to talk to the Greek Government.

Stercken held the view that one should not be following far behind the events because preventative actions are much more effective in politics. The parliaments must make use of their scope for maneuver in jointly defending the European interests. In the case of the Greek-Macedonian or the Hungarian-Slovak relations, the EC member states must make it clear that these are not only a matter of bilateral relations; the conflicts affect all countries of the region. Stercken made the latter statement in reaction to [Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee] Gyula Horn's remark in which he said that it would have a beneficial effect on Hungarian-Slovak relations if the Bundestag established active relations with the Slovak partners.

On Romania's future membership in the Council of Europe, Horn said that it is in Hungary's interest to support Bucharest's application for membership because this can help reduce the tension between the two countries. To get this support, it is necessary for Romania to fulfill the organization's conditions on respect for human rights and pluralist democracy. Horn condemned the lack of international coordination in handling the southern Slav crisis.

During his talks in Budapest, Stercken mentioned that it would be useful if members of the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee joined the delegation consisting of French, German, and Polish deputies who would like to visit Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Russia. Horn asked him for the itinerary of the trip so that a decision could be made on this issue.

Economic Agreement Signed With Indonesia

LD0512175992 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 5 Dec 92

[Text] Beijing, December 5 (MTI)—Hungarian companies are to take part in the construction of bus factories, power plants and food processing plants in Indonesia, under a bilateral cooperation agreement signed on Friday [4 December]. The document was signed by Hungarian International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar and Indonesian Trade Minister Arifin Siregar. At the talks, Siregar said Indonesia sees Budapest as a gateway to Europe and plans to open a trade centre in Budapest soon, to promote the export of Indonesian goods and services to Eastern Europe.

Parliament Adopts Yeltsin's 1956 Position Statement

LD0812203092 Budapest MTI in English 1817 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 8 (MTI)—Hungary's parliament on Tuesday [8 December] unanimously adopted a statement on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's position

related to the 1956 Soviet intervention in Hungary. The statement says, "the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary highly appreciates the stand taken by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, during his visit to Hungary. It states that a new historic era, conducive to the free development of friendship and cooperation, has opened in relations between the two countries, which have a common interest in eliminating the remnants of dictatorship, setting up and consolidating a democratic state governed by the rule of law, and creating conditions for a viable market economy."

Neo-Nazis Continue To Build Ties Abroad

AU0912152192 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—The recent conviction of Hungarian neo-Nazi leader Istvan Gyorkos and his accomplices has not broken international links of the neo-Nazi movement here.

Interviewed by Hungarian television, Gyorkos said he maintained ties with Spanish, Austrian and German organizations, including some groups that are banned in Germany for their subversive action.

The Hungarian public has known Gyorkos's organization as the Hungarian National Socialist Action Group, however, after the court sentence, its name has been changed to the Hungarian National Front (HNF).

Gyorkos expressed the wish of legalizing the HNF and did not rule out the chance of transforming it into a political party. He said it maintained ties with some Hungarian emigrants in America who acted "on behalf of the HNF".

In an earlier interview with the Socialist Daily "NEPSZABADSAG", Gyorkos pressed for a historical reappraisal of the arrow cross movement. "Why shouldn't it be accepted? Romanian society is 'prepared' for Antonescu marshal and the Slovaks have named a square after Tiso. Why is Hungarian society considered unprepared for the arrow-cross party? The Hungarist idea of Ferenc Szalasi, the leader of the arrow-cross movement, will remain topical as long as Hungary exists," the neo-Nazi leader said. There is also some indication that Gyorkos is maintaining ties with several skinhead organizations and other right-wing groups.

Since the German neo-Nazis consider former socialist countries, including Hungary, a breeding ground for their ideas, Hungarian authorities are understood to have established links with the German Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

Prime Minister Condemns Romanian Church Break-In

AU0712132392 Budapest MTI in English 1233 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 4 Dec (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall was shocked and scandalized by the break-in into the Romanian orthodox church of Magyarcsanad by unidentified perpetrators on Thursday [3 December].

Government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz presented to the press the prime minister's statement on the incident on Friday.

"Last night we were informed that unidentified perpetrators forced open the door of the Magyarcsanad, Csongrad County, Romanian orthodox church, currently under renovation. Police reports have not mentioned thefts, but the perpetrators overturned pietry objects and holders, and damaged the furniture.

"Prime Minister Jozsef Antall was shocked to learn about the vandalism, so far unprecedented in our country. Probably all decent people share the prime minister's indignation, regardless of their nationality and citizenship.

"The shocking and inexplicable deed is completely alien to the traditionally sober attitudes of our citizens. So far, such a shameful manifestation of brutality has always been far from our compatriots. In spite of the fact that the possibility of provocation cannot be ruled out, the Hungarian Government calls upon the citizens to continue to display self-restraint and reason, which are traditional characteristics of Hungarians and are solely worthy of us," the prime minister's statement says.

Minister Jeszenszky Views Romanian Relations

AU0812205392 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky: "Do the Danube and the Olt Have One Voice?"]

[Text] Generations have grown up in Hungary who understood and adhere to [poet] Ady's message [reference to article headline] but for whom it is increasingly difficult to find Romanians who accept the program of common fate, trust, and friendship.

In September, the Parliament that was elected to draft the Constitution was replaced by the new Parliament that was elected for four years. On 21 November, the new Romanian Government was sworn in, and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, who is also a minister of state, took up office. I must have been the first foreign colleague who personally congratulated him when I met him on the eve of the conference of the Central European Initiative [CEI] in Graz, Austria. In May 1992, when he visited Budapest in his capacity of state secretary, I had a one-hour meeting with the dynamic and experienced career diplomat who was then directly responsible for relations with Hungary. Therefore, the new foreign minister is well known by several former and current Hungarian diplomats.

I welcomed reading the statements of my colleague and other leading Romanian personalities in which they

expressed their hope and willingness to improve bilateral relations, to settle existing problems through negotiations, and to hold high-level meetings. On the Hungarian side, this willingness goes as far back as the burial in Budapest of Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs, when the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and prominent and famous Romanians, most of whom were living in emigration, made statements in support of a new type of Hungarian-Romanian relations after the expected fall of the dictatorship. The document that was supported by many dozens of respected Romanians and Hungarians representing a broad spectrum of intellectual and political life, stated that "Transylvania, that was and continues to be a land of complementary cultures, must become a model for cultural and religious pluralism.... All nations should be granted the right to autonomous political representation and cultural autonomy. To achieve this requires the organization of Hungarian-language education at all levels, including the reopening of the Hungarian university in Kolozsvar [Cluj]." However, at Christmas 1989 and in the ensuing weeks, the whole of Hungary expressed its solidarity and friendship toward the Romanian people in acts that are more serious than words when, instead of the armed attack mentioned by Ceausescu, we tried to contribute to the establishment of a new Romania with food, medicine, clothes, and voluntary blood donations. The Hungarian Government that was formed in May 1990 also expressed signs of its willingness to settle relations in a mutually advantageous manner at several negotiations, even after the tragic events in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. In the summer of 1990, we handed over our actual proposals to State Secretary Neagu, who was visiting Budapest. Although we did not receive a really encouraging reply to these, using various international meetings, I held in-depth talks with Foreign Ministers Celac and then Nastase at least a dozen times. I said at these meetings that even the acceptance of some of our essential proposals and progress in some disputed issues would provide an excellent opportunity for higher-level official meetings that would not cause disappointments later in either country. I also offered a choice to Nastase (whom we can greet as the chairman of the National Assembly now) to start on the road of lasting Romanian-Hungarian conciliation either through small steps or through a big leap, as the French and the Germans did after 1945.

On our part, we are explicitly interested in Romania's earliest and closest integration in the western part of Europe. This would be in accordance with Romania's traditional orientation, and it would also mean restoration and consolidation of the many centuries-long European links of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. Hungary needs stable and economically flourishing neighbors. We would like Romania also to share the advantages of the associate agreement with the EC, to receive the most-favored-nation status from the United States, and to join the political club of European democracies and the Council of Europe. As I and my Central European collegues recently expounded in Graz, actual regional cooperation and the emerging cooperation, especially in the border regions, may even lead to membership in the CEI [Central European Initiative]. The memorandum that was made in May 1992, precisely at the time of Melescanu's visit, summarizes the desirable measures in bilateral relations that both sides considered necessary, in 43 points. Promoting trade, developing tourism, opening new border crossing points and extending the existing ones, supporting the establishment of joint ventures, coordinating school textbooks, and "mutually commemorating each other's national days and historical anniversaries" are among the points. At the same time, some issues were left open, for example, reopening the consulate-general in Kolozsvar [Cluj Napoca], setting up a joint committee on minority issues, Hungarian access to the Romanian documents of the 1956 Hungarian revolution, and restoring the memorial of the Arad martyrs. It can also be seen from this brief list that Hungary does not place emphasis on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania alone. Naturally, a better general mood of the national minorities would greatly contribute to improving bilateral relations. I spoke to Hans Stercken, chairman of the Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee, and he said that the German-Polish agreement and the support of the German minority's wishes in Poland had changed feelings toward Germans in Poland almost overnight, while at the same time it also strengthened European stability.

Hungarian-Romanian relations are better than their domestic and foreign image if we consider that, in addition to the aforementioned foreign ministerial meetings, the defense, interior, education, and economy ministers have met a number of times and made actual bilateral agreements. Consultations between the leading officials of the foreign ministries have become regular. At the same time, the recent and welcome Romanian declaration of the openness policy will hardly be made easy by the fact that, in the Romanian press, in several respected newspapers that are close to the government, sharply worded articles appear regularly that, let us be open about it, are unfounded, deliberately offensive, and are suitable for inciting against the Hungarians. It is even more regrettable that, coinciding with the nice words of the Romanian president to the leaders of the Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Society, in Kolozsvar, in the town partly renamed to its ancient name from Roman times by the country that is so proud of its Latin traditions, the statue of King Matthias, which can even be seen as the symbol of Hungarian-Romanian coexistence and which was erected in 1902, began to be defiled and the Latin name and title were removed. In addition to the Hungarian population in Romania, quite a few well-known and lesser-known Romanians consider that placing a Iorga quotation on the statute that was once used by nationalism for provocation but which, in the spirit of Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, no one thought of using again since 1944, was a pointless insult against the Hungarians causing immeasurable damage to relations of the two peoples. Some people might say that this is an unfortunate trespass. Let us believe it. However, we

cannot believe that the Romanian Government is incapable of preventing such trespasses! "There are no such problems that we could not resolve if the intent exists," Teodor Melescanu said on Budapest Radio on 28 November. Welcoming the intent, I would like to express my hope that this intent will be confirmed by practice. The Hungarian public is not only interested in who will become the prefect of Harghita County, what nationality the policemen will be in the Szeklers' land, whether Pal Cseresznyes and the people condemned in connection with the events in December 1989 and March 1990, will be given justice, and whether Romania will sign the Language Charter of the Council of Europe, but they are also interested in how easy it is to operate joint ventures, whether the fuel tax will be withdrawn—about which we had not even had prior notice—and the new border crossing points will be opened, whether the Romanian customs officers will be just as fast as their Austrian colleagues, and what sort of trade figures we will have with Romania, which was one of our major trade partners between the two world wars. Naturally, Hungary would be happy to record our good relations in an interstate agreement.

We have no objections to confirming in adequate legal wording that is reassuring for both sides that—according to the Helsinki Final Document—we have no territorial dispute with Romania, and to record in actual paragraphs the guarantees of the survival and safe future of the national minorities in both countries. If Romania embarks on this European road, then our relations can become just as intensive and friendly, as fruitful and friendly as our relations have become with several countries, including many neighboring countries in recent years.

Democratic Forum Chairmen Issue Statement

AU0812161792 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Dec 92 p 3

["Text" of statement adopted by the meeting of Hungarian Democratic Forum local organizations on 29 November, place not given: "MDF-Chairmen on Hungarian Public Life—We Need Active Citizens!"]

[Text] As promised, we publish the full text of the statement adopted by the meeting of the chairmen of Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] local organizations on 29 November:

"On 29 November 1992, the Meeting of the Chairmen, as the consultative body of the chairmen of the MDF's local organizations, discussed the issues of domestic and foreign policy and the situation of the economy and is publishing the following statement.

"At the dawn of the change of regime, the MDF was brought to life by the dual commitment to the nation and democracy. In the spirit of this, the new Hungarian state successfully and peacefully resolved the task of creating independence and sovereignty, and it handled the foreign political challenges calmly and soberly. In domestic politics, it ensured fair political contest and the establishment of a stable and functioning parliamentary democracy.

"In a rather short time by historical measure, the economy achieved qiuck improvements in changing its market orientation, in the foreign economy, the ability to pay, and in anti-inflation issues, which are mainly due to the freedom of enterprise, the dominance of economic constraints, the considerable expansion of the private economy, and the reduced role of the state in the economy. At the same time, naturally, this change also caused and brought tensions to the surface.

"The Hungarian society had great expectations and, often underestimating the difficulties of transition, illusions toward the political and economic change of regime that was completed by the 1990 elections. These illusions also applied to the assessment of damages and the actual situation caused by the past 40 years. We firmly declare that our current economic difficulties, including unemployment, the temporary reduction of the national product, and the small amount of resources that can be distributed are a result of the futile economic policy of the past few decades, and of the fundamental changes in the world surrounding us, the unforeseeable worldwide recession, and the losses resulting from the changeover. All these processes were necessary in the course of the transition, and there is no other realistic alternative that can avoid the shocks, whatever the miraculous healers may say.

"The government must also face serious challenges in the political sphere. The flaring tension points of the region that often openly confront the European values considerably endanger Hungary's security. Nevertheless, the political extremism that has gained ground in several areas has not been able to establish itself in Hungary, however much the political forces that were defeated in the 1990 elections tried to do this using all means of raging demagogy.

"We especially condemn the campaign that places personal and party interests before the interest of the nation and that is trying to spread the news in the world that extremism has gained ground in Hungary. The purely power-orinented political style in which mainly the past political forces and their tactical allies, the current opposition, and some of the currently known personalities of mass communication that can justifiably be accused of historical irresponsibility excel, exerts an effect in the interest of upsetting the political stability and against the political consciousness and a healthy sense of reality.

"We declare at the same time that the MDF does not give in to any pressure that would divert it from the direction of strengthening the rights of freedom, the democratic parliamentary system, and the social market economy based on the dominance of private property.

"We firmly support the principles of the constitutional state and parliamentary democracy as the only possible road to a future European Hungary. The Meeting of the

Chairmen most firmly supports the value system, ideological heritage, and the unity in upholding the original goals, of the MDF as a modern European political force.

"The Meeting of the Chairmen was indignant to see the letter of the president of the republic dated 27 November, which it believes is an intention to again refuse the prime minister's proposal to relieve the the chairmen of radio and television from their positions. It would find it desirable if the actions of the president of the republic were determined solely by the Constitution and the decisions of the Constitutional Court, rather than by the intent to 'influence the internal life of the MDF or any other political party.' Therefore, it emphatically asks the president of the republic to exercise its power constitutionally and to relieve the chairmen of Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television from their positions.

"The Meeting of the Chairmen asks the country's responsibly thinking citizens to be active participants in historical reconstruction, to organize, and to use their rights so that we can successfully continue the transformation of the economy and society that can be seen as positive so far—the change of the regime."

Supplement to the Political Statement

"The Meeting of the Chairmen considers the following as the most important tasks for the coming period:

"A.) In the area of the economy:
"— definite measures should be taken to ensure adherence to existing laws, and a supervisory system should be established;
"— in the first half of 1993, a new institutional method of agricultural loans should be established;
"— an accelerating program should be drawn up to develop domestic infrastructure and to implement the construction of homes;
"— privatization should be accelerated by the expansion of domestic entrepreneurs;
"— in the first half of 1993, a measure should be brought to remove the debt-trap of enterprises."

"B.) In the area of providing justice:

"With a concerted effort, the government and the parliamentary deputy group should do everything they can in the interest of passing laws and taking measures by the first third of 1993, which will facilitate:
"— the investigation of the past and informing the public;
"— the investigation of the determining events of the period of dictatorship and establishment of a parliamentary investigative committee to determine personal political responsibility;
"— that people who committed serious crimes in the past that were not prosecuted by law at the time should be taken to court;

"— the punishment of people who committed war crimes in 1956.

"People who commit economic crimes should be persecuted with the full strictness of the law, and the government should make the organizational decisions necessary for this.

"The Meeting of the Chairmen maintains that the key to the country's stability is the government led by Jozsef Antall, and it does not relax its determination that even the very difficult steps should be implemented by the calm power seeking compromises but with resoluteness because it is convinced that this serves the country's success, its international appreciation, and the interests of the Hungarians best."

Officials Sign Cooperation Agreement With U.S.

WS0812133892 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1538 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Report on the official signing ceremony for the Polish-American agreement on cooperation in advising Polish small businesses]

[Text] The aim of this joint Polish-American undertaking is to assist the Polish Government in designing an economic policy that would emphasize the development of small- and medium-size companies. The agreement should also contribute to the establishment of conditions for the effective functioning of small companies. This program also envisions American aid in coordinating the use of foreign financial sources turned over to Poland, and help in promoting enterprise and initiative. The Polish-American agreement, dealing with the development of small- and medium-size companies in Poland, was signed by Zbigniew Eysmont, minister for enterprise promotion, and William Joslin, the director of the American Agency for International Development. Also participating in the ceremony were Thomas Simons, U.S. ambassador to Poland, and Jan Maria Rokita, the head of the office of the Council of Ministers.

Zbigniew Eysmont said that one of the ways out of the economic crisis in Poland is to promote small companies— and this is the goal of the new agreement. According to Eysmont, the signing of the agreement represents another step in the day-to-day cooperation between the United States and Poland.

The Aim of the Joint Undertaking

The aim of this joint Polish-American undertaking is assistance to the Polish Government in designing an economic policy that would take into account the priorities for the development of small- and medium-size companies and also to create conditions for the effective functioning of small companies. This program also envisions aid in coordinating the use of foreign financial sources turned over to Poland, and help in promoting enterprise and initiative. A detailed analysis of the conditions of functioning of small companies in construction and agriculture is also planned. It is expected that the Polish-American cooperation will result, among others, in solutions toward the modification of legal and financial legislation, and particularly those laws concerning the credit system and taxation.

USSR-Produced Materiel Found at Scrapyard

LD0812212792 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Legnica, Dec. 8—About 40 tons of military equipment, including artillery shells, missiles and airbombs used during military exercises, were discovered by the police and environment protection inspectors at a scrap metal purchasing centre located at a railway station in Rokitki, Legnica Province, reported spokesman for the regional police headquarters in Legnica Janusz Stanislawski on Tuesday [8 December]. Workers at the centre generally sort and cut scrap metal with blowpipes. The owner of the scrap metal centre claims to have purchased the entire arsenal from local inhabitants. Stanislawski points out, however, that each piece of equipment is marked as produced in the former USSR. Legnica used to be an area where a large concentration of Soviet troops was stationed.

Walesa on Possibility of Using Presidential Power

LD0812204892 Warsaw PAP in English 1824 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—President Lech Walesa said on Tuesday [8 December] that it was possible that he might reach for "presidential rule." Speaking in an interview with the Polish Press Agency (PAP) marking the second anniversary of his presidency which began in December, 1990, Walesa declared that, if the nation was dissatisfied and if he was blamed for all its failures, he would have no choice but to do so.

Walesa explained that he would achieve presidential power by building "a party so big that nobody would be able to hold it on a leash. I will achieve everything in the Sejm (lower house) and elsewhere, in quite a monopolistic manner. I am able to do this but I do not want to," warned Walesa. "After 50 years we are unable to take decisions—I am ready," he added.

Walesa said that the third year of his presidency would be decisive. "The third year will settle whether I, seeing the stagnation and inefficiency, will decide on the presidential model of power and whether I will achieve it." Walesa thought his main failure was that he had not managed to achieve a greater success in realising plans in the past two years. But although he had himself been accused of a low level of efficiency, whenever he tried to become more effective on some matter then "they say no, no. In parliament, no. In governing, no. In decrees, no. Even in the recent changes at NIK (the Supreme Board of Inspection), no." At the same time, complained Walesa, the unsettled matters were blamed on him. He said that Poles were not achieving what could be achieved because they did not believe in themselves. "I do not know whether 'I will not take for myself, and will not give to others' is a characteristic of all nations. In our country this saying is always in use," argued Walesa. He considered that this was understandable because Poles had not been fortunate in ruling themselves for the last 50 years.

Walesa maintained that martial law in 1981 had "broken the nation's backbone" and destroyed the national unity which had been attained earlier. "Afterwards, although we managed to win a victory in 1989, we never won society over to the same extent or in the same spirit as before. Not only that but although there was a victory, there is a victory, nobody believed in it." Walesa thought it was possible to build a national consensus but not too early. Time was necessary to heal the wounds incurred

during martial law. He said he divided people into those who wanted to do something for the country and those who do something only for themselves.

He thought relations with parliament and government were "not bad." He left to them those matters which were their responsibility dealing himself only with issues he was competent to deal with. "As for the government, frequent changes mean that people leave before they have learnt," Walesa continued adding that "maybe this time they will manage to work a bit longer." Asked whether he thought the nation had not matured enough for democracy, Walesa disagreed. "The nation showed real solidarity if we are talking about those below but the further up you went, the worse it was."

Tyminski Warns of Uprisings in Poland, Europe

LD0812172492 Warsaw PAP in English 1608 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 8—Party "X" leader Stanislaw Tyminski, the man who stood against Lech Walesa in the Polish presidential elections of 1990, believes that "national revolutions" will explode in Poland and Europe and so he wants to promote "nationalist-socialist" thought. Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday [8 December] Tyminski said that for three years there has been "econometric robbery" in Poland based on the too small value of the dollar relative to the zloty. According to Tyminski the current price of the dollar should be 25-30,000 zlotys (almost twice the present zloty price). He estimated that in the last 3 years around 60 billion dollars had been taken out of the country. The fault for this "econometric robbery" lay with "the post-Solidarity governments" and the Balcerowicz plan, maintained Tyminski.

He claimed that "several tens of people" asked him to give the order and name the date of an uprising against the "occupying force" which was one of the names he gave the government. "If the day comes when I have to give such an order, it will not be my fault, but a result of the repeated arrogance and robbery which have been allowed," warned Tyminski. He also claimed to have "a list of a few hundred confirmed agents of foreign intelligence services who until now have occupied very important posts." The identities of these people would be revealed "at the appropriate time", probably before the next elections.

Status of German Minority in Poland Viewed

PM0912113492 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

["Unauthorized" interview with Dietmar Brehmer, leader of German Working Association "Reconciliation and Future," by correspondent Iwona Klopocka; place and date not given]

[Text] [Klopocka] Two years ago you were branded a traitor to the German cause in Silesia, a black sheep, and an agent of the Polish regime. What were the reasons behind this rejection of one of the chief initiators of an organized movement of the German minority in Poland?

[Brehmer] The immediate reason was my speech before the Expellees Union Congress, which I attended along with other activists representing the German minority and a number of leading German politicians. In the course of my address I referred to our community—rather naively, but correctly, I believe—as follows: "We, the German minority in Poland," instead of saying "We, the German ethnic group in Eastern Germany [Niemcy Wschodnie]," as Blazej Hanschuch, our colleague from Raciborz, did in his own address following my speech. As for myself, I wanted to begin by laying down sound foundations for the minority's good position here, and also by leading an open campaign for friendly coexistence, for cooperation with Poland, and for a strengthened credibility of the German people in Poland.

[Klopocka] Recently, at a session devoted to relations between Poles and Germans a year after the [good neighbors] treaty, you described yourself as a crusader campaigning for extending a hand of friendship toward Poland and Poles unconditionally. What did you mean?

[Brehmer] I meant that I count myself among those people who, while remembering the evil that Germans had done in Europe, and also remembering the wrong that was done to Germans themselves, do not insist on squaring past accounts but look forward to the future instead. I believe that the era of seeking enemies is over. Today, the movement that can win over more friends and that insists on creating links instead of divisions stands a better chance of winning a victory.

The German question has always been a difficult and painful problem in Poland. A minority must not demonstrate that it is in any way hostile to Poles, or that it threatens them in some manner—after all, it sometimes only requires a small incident to suggest such sentiments.

[Klopocka] This is precisely how such things as, say, the matter of monuments to German soldiers, or bilingual road signs, could be interpreted in the Opole region...

[Brehmer] If the German minority in the Opole region had chosen to follow the same line of approach that we advocate—that of working jointly toward unconditional mutual trust and reconciliation as well as cooperation for the good of the region where we all live side by side—they would by now have built up such a capital of mutual trust and credibility that there would have been no problem even with such things as place names or road signs in the German language. We erected a memorial to the victims of the communist regime at the Catholic cemetery in my own city of Swietochlowice, and we did not come across any negative reactions whatever. This is because no one would for a moment suspect us of intending to express something else through the memorial. However, if you have not succeeded in winning credibility for yourself, you should not set out to do such things. I would also caution people against using certain

symbols: It is one thing to venerate the memory of a person who served in the Wehrmacht, and another thing altogether to venerate the Wehrmacht itself. We must take into account the reasons of state of a nation which for many years had been striving to regain its independence, which then finally won it, and which must not be made to feel that its sovereignty is threatened in any way. And the less Poland feels threatened, the more it will open up to Europe.

[Klopocka] Do Germans living in Silesia see any particular advantage in it?

[Brehmer] Well, after all, this is where our homeland is: our own Heimat [homeland]. We must regain it, and the only way we can do this is through complete loyalty, integrity, lawfulness, and hard work. Moreover, I believe that we actually have a historic role to play here: that of a footbridge between the two nations. We are particularly predestined to play that role because of our tradition of political, religious, and cultural tolerance.

The time has come when we must put a stop to constant harping on the past, to the desire to settle past accounts, to constant invocation of the horrors of the last war, to revanchist leanings, and to the trait that I fear most: nationalism.

These are the principal aims assumed by the "Reconciliation and Future" group, which I founded. We want to participate in the campaign to save Upper Silesia from civilizational collapse and ecological, health, economic, cultural, educational, and social degradation. It is in our joint interest to achieve these objectives, and it should not be at all difficult to realize. After all, over the long years of our shared existence side by side in this region very many people from the respective communities have developed close, neighborly relations and ordinary human ties—not just formal ties between "Germans" and "Poles."

[Klopocka] This view is by no means shared by all in the German minority. How is your organization different from the German Minority's Social and Cultural Society [TSKMN] of Gogolin?

[Brehmer] To begin with, the difference lies in our openness. To give you an example, we have nothing to hide and therefore we are not afraid of meeting journalists and reporters. In addition, we give a clear account of our objectives and we preserve our independence. From its very inception, the Opole-Gogolin minority was very strongly dependent on the Expellees' Union [Bund der Vertriebenen, BdV]. A considerable number of decisions concerning the Opole-Gogolin minority group were made precisely by the BdV, which, in my opinion, treated that group very much as an instrument of its policy. At the moment the BdV's influence is strongest in Raciborz. [TSKMN chairman] Kroll and his colleagues have already largely freed themselves from this influence: This took place as soon as they entered the Polish parliament. For them it was also a chance to leave the "Opole backwater" behind, but unfortunately they still fail to take note of a number of aspects—for example, the fact that we here have much better chances of development than the Germans in eastern German territories. Perhaps even better than all the German nation. Germany has by now become a decadent country. Our people emigrate there in order to sample the superficial glitter, but by doing so they jeopardize their humanity and lose their friends. I am firmly convinced that there is a better guarantee of happiness in building a new homeland right here than in staying there, in an alien community. I say alien because we have been separated too widely by the decades during which there were no contacts between us. We here have a more humanitarian approach to other people. We have learned a lot in this respect from Poles.

And one more thing: After all, Poland was not forced to recognize that there is a German minority here. Even the official German policy, including that propagated by the BdV, declared that the Germans had gone to Germany and only Poles remained behind. I myself came across this view repeatedly whenever I visited Germany. "You are a Pole because you did not return here," I heard. People who said that to me could never understand that we loved our homeland, that we had been and remained happy here even though life was hard. Out there we had the prospect of a network of Aldi supermarkets, good beer, and 25 television channels. Here we have a chance to mean something and to get things done. We could be not only accepted but even admired here. However, first we must show Germans in a positive light. This is our task for the future.

[Klopocka] What prejudices and stereotypes cultivated on both sides can interfere with the realization of this task?

[Brehmer] On the Polish side it is the view that a German equals a Nazi. On our side, it is the image of a Pole who is work-shy, who does not show regard for community property, and who would dump his own rubbish in a neighbor's garden. Neither is a true picture: Both are the results of bias and prejudice.

[Klopocka] It will take time to eradicate these prejudices. We can hardly expect a revolution in people's thinking in this respect.

[Brehmer] Well, I must say I almost felt a breeze of a revolution when I recently heard a song sung by the "Piersi" group. If I had big money, I would fund an award for the young singers for their considerable contribution to the task of reconciliation between our nations. I do not actually like their music, but one of their songs is perfectly revolutionary in that it treats of acceptance of both Poles and Germans in Poland. One line goes as follows: "This is my homeland, this is your Heimat." When you hear a young man say such things, and say them in both languages, too, it is more revolutionary than anything else you could imagine. I view this with much optimism, for after all it is here in Silesia that the decision on Europe's future identity will be made.

[Klopocka] Has the German minority in Poland achieved everything that it needed to articulate and demonstrate its separate identity?

[Brehmer] The rights we have been granted are exceptional and every national minority in Europe would do well to gain similar ones. Everything else now depends on our own intelligence, activity, and inventiveness. However, our minority must have enlightened leaders and it also must organize itself in a democratic manner.

One thing has still been left undone, however, and this causes me much grief. The wrong suffered by people who were drafted into the Wehrmacht and are to this day paying for the tragic events of the last war has not been rectified. We are not interested in seeing that those who fought against Poland are rewarded, but we strongly believe that those who live on the verge of destitution should be helped in some way. First they were drafted into the German Army under threat of death, and then, after the war, they were punished by Polish authorities, sent to labor camps, and had their property confiscated.

I am distressed to see the cruelty of the German government which decided to offload the burden of this matter onto the Polish government's shoulders. We received a promise of help in this matter from President Walesa's Chancellery, but it is the duty of the German side to sort it out satisfactorily. After all, people who left Poland after the war received remuneration for serving in the Wehrmacht, and the period of service itself was included in their pension entitlement.

Over the 15 months of our involvement in this matter we collected 48,000 documented applications for additional increases in old age and disability pensions. However, the German side has remained unmoved and maintains that this matter should be the responsibility of the applicants' country of residence. It seems to us that it would be odd indeed to expect Poland to pay pensions to former soldiers of an enemy army.

My own organization does not view this as a political problem, but believes that it is a matter of just application of social welfare principles. Many people have died since we first took this problem on board: Six people actually died on the steps leading to our offices! We must do everything in our power to get this problem resolved. We are ready to organize a demonstration and invite television reporters. For us it is also a question of our credibility.

[Klopocka] Perhaps the whole matter would be easier to arrange if you were a member of parliament. Are you going to put up your candidacy again in the next election?

[Brehmer] I actually believe that you can do more if you are not in parliament, but politics are nonetheless a big temptation. However, whenever I consider the present Sejm I have to wonder what I would be doing among the people there. Even so, many of my supporters have already warned me that they would carry me there by force if needed. Well, if I do find myself in parliament one day, it will be in order to serve people better.

[Klopocka] Thank you for talking to us.

German Neo-Nazis Arrive in Opole Region

LD0812215892 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Opole, Dec. 8—Another group representing a German neo-Nazi organization "Nationale Offensive" arrived in Dziewkowice in the Opole Province, southern Poland, according to Senator Dorota Simonides. Three young German neo-Nazis arrived in Lower Silesia from Germany last Sunday [6 December]. Their colleagues left the village of Dziewkowice last Friday. The Polish senator said all legal means must be used to get rid of the unwanted visitors.

Dziewkowice and the Opole region is largely inhabited by the German minority. Simonides told the Polish Press Agency that the German minority and neo-Nazis are two different matters. She is in favour of ensuring the German minority the rights to their own language, culture and national identity. But she is against the neo-Nazi ideology, both the one imported by German neo-Fascists and the "domestic right-wing radicals."

"It is in the interest of the minority to remove neo-Nazis from Dziewkowice and dissociate itself from the radicals for the sake of cooperation with the majority," Simonides said. Provincial Governor Ryszard Zembaczynski said the neo-Nazis of Dziewkowice were asked to come to the provincial office in Opole on December 14 for talks concerning their status, before proper administrative actions are taken. "It is our intention to recognize them as personae non gratae, but there must be legal ground for this," Zembaczynski said.

Assembly Ratifies Friendship Treaty With Estonia

AU0812204792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between Romania and Estonia concluded in Tallin on June 11, 1992 was the topic for debate in the Chamber of Deputies of Romania during its sitting on December 8.

The draft law on its ratification was endorsed with a unanimity of vote.

During the talks emphasis was placed on the two states' common position on the need to eliminate from the European continent all the situations created through acts of illicit use of force, on the basis of recognizing the illegal character of the secret Molotov-Ribbentrop understandings and their consequences, the two states' wish to promote the development of common cultural assets, the participation in the process of building up European security and in the expansion of bilateral relations on multiple planes.

Remarks were made on a formulation in the document on "the process of political homogenization in Europe." It was requested that such formulations, which could create confusion, should be avoided.

Nastase Briefs Assembly on Moldovan Visit

AU0812204592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—During the December 8 sitting of Romania's Chamber of Deputies, Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber, read a report on the visit paid to the Republic of Moldova over November 25-27 by a Romanian parliamentary delegation.

The message of the delegation followed the Romanians' national ideals, Adrian Nastase said considering the results of the political demarche in Chisinau as positive. The Chamber of Deputies speaker said that during the talks with officials in the other Romanian state emphasis had been placed on the idea that Romania was the Republic of Moldova's only link with Europe and that the brotherly links between the two states should be expanded. The Romanian side has been making efforts to institutionalize bilateral links on various levels, in which context the concern to synchronize legislative process also falls.

Adrian Nastase showed that in Chisinau he had upheld the viewpoint according to which Romania was willing to grant unconditional support to the Republic of Moldova. As a matter of fact, such concerns are apparent in the communique signed at the end of the visit which amply refers to the steps taken in recent years to develop the ties of brotherhood and the cooperation between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. The two sides are inspired by the belief that together they will identify new solutions and new modalities of action conducive to a stepped-up economic integration and to the development of the common cultural and spiritual space, to the growth of cooperation and to integration in all areas and in all possible forms.

PSM Leader Discusses China Visit, Issues

AU0812172692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/12/1992—The activity of the parliamentary groups of the Socialist Party of Labor (PSM), the socioeconomic situation of the country and the results of the visit paid to the People's China by a delegation of that party were the main issues debated Monday [7 December] at a press conference of the Socialist Party of Labor.

"We consider it necessary a speeding up of the activity carried out by the parliament," mentioned Tudor Mohora, head of the PSM group in the Chamber of Deputies. It was assessed that the new government have withdrawn some legislative initiatives of the ex-cabinet for a better study. Therefore, the draft law regarding the change of the profit tax system it was considered improper under the current circumstances. The wish of the Socialist Party of Labor is for a continuation of the progressive tax system, but with the growing of the lower limit to encourage small manufacturers.

Asked about the position held by the PSM regarding the events in Cluj-Napoca, Ilie Verdet stated that the growing proportions given by certain political forces to actions carried out by the local administration were regrettable. "Of late, a radical tendency recorded in the policy of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania becomes more evident, which runs counter with the situation of the minorities' rights in our country," was the opinion of Mr.Mohora.

Regarding the economic and social situation of Romania, it was considered that the measures taken were only paleative while their result was the worsening of the situation of the population. The PSM representatives consider that the reform must not be carried out in its present form, but be revised by a certain number of laws which are improper for the Romanian current economic situation.

On the occasion, it was mentioned that between 20 November and 2 December a PSM delegation headed by Ilie Verdet paid a fact-finding trip to the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party. The president of the PSM mentioned that "in China the most profound and extensive reform is taking place, while the results scored during the last 10 years are admirable for the creation of a socialist market economy."

Party Members Disapprove of Cluj Mayor's Acts

AU0812174692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/12/1992—After the events organized in Cluj-Napoca on Sunday, December 6, upon the initiative of the Democratic Union of Hungarian in Romania (UDMR), the newspaper ADEVARUL asked opinions from local officials. Gheorghe Funar, mayor of the municipality, considered the silence march organized by the UDMR after the Sunday [6 December] service at Saint Michael's Cathedral (as a sign of protest over the remounting on the statue of Matthias Corvinus of a plaque carrying a text by great Romanian Historian Nicolae Iorga) as a violation of legal provisions in force. He said that, according to legal provisions, the participants in the illegal march on Sunday would be given fines ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 lei and the organizers would have to pay a fine of 200,000 lei. He also requested that the discipline commissions of the two parliamentary chambers should discuss the UDMR senators' and deputies' failure to observe the laws in force in Cluj-Napoca.

Gheorghe Funar also said that following a suggestion made by the Natural Historic Monuments Commission four masts flying Romania's national flag would be placed in Liberty Square in the municipality. Furthermore, a bronze plaque will be mounted outlining the history of Matthias Corvinus' statue so that any passerby may read about the events in the history of that statue along 90 years.

Funar also expressed disapproval of the organization in Cluj-Napoca, starting December 8, of events marking 200 years of Hungarian theater in that town. He said that according to existing documents the Hungarian theater company started its activity in Cluj-Napoca in 1803. Therefore, one cannot speak of 200 years of activity, he said. As the Hungarian theater company failed to lodge the necessary documentation for the mounting of a commemorative plaque on the building of the Universitarians' House in Cluj-Napoca, the plaque will not be mounted, hence reactions, which the Mayors' Office foresees.

Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes told the newspaper ADEVARUL that what happened at Matthias Corvinus' statue in Cluj-Napoca was "a great offense to the consciousness of the Hungarian population." Petru Litiu, Civic Alliance Party deputy [PAC], disapproved of the measures taken by Gheorghe Funar and said that "the people of Cluj think correctly and will not answer such provocations, which are in fact a continuation of the erroneous policy promoted by the Romanian National Unity Party."

A communique from the leadership of the Cluj organization of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNTCD], printed in the newspaper DREPTATEA of December 8, refers to the mounting of the plaque with Iorga's text on Matthias Corvinus' statue and accuses Mayor Gheorghe Funar of "trying to create a climate of tension and hate mongering favoring political maneuvers." The communique also shows that the changes made to a historic monument is not something that should concern either the Mayor's Office or any political party as there are specialized forums in that respect. Furthermore, the communique reads, even the National Historic Monuments Commission cannot make decisions unless it has the approval of the government and even of the parliament.

Leaders of CDR Parties Discuss Future Strategy

AU0912184192 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Dec 92 p 2

[Report by Roxana Iordache on statements by leading personalities of the Democratic Convention of Romania: "Where is the Democratic Convention Heading? CDR Leaders Are Seeking Solutions"]

[Text]

Emil Constantinescu: A Foundation for Democracy

Mr. Emil Constantinescu, the President of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] has told us that the Romanian Foundation for Democracy is to be legally registered after Romania's national day [1 December]. The reasons behind that idea are the following: We need funds to establish democratic structures and to create an alternative political and administrative class; the foundation is able to ensure the total openness [of the CDR]; the foundation will consist of smaller centers, preferably employing young experts of all the CDR member associations and political parties, who are to elaborate the strategy and tactics of the Convention and who will also satisfy a number of demands, such as the accomplishing of realistic public opinion polls that could enhance the professionalism of the CDR actions; the foundation will prevent the development of parasite bureaucratic structures. All centers will operate independently, and they will be free to offer the documents they elaborate to CDR and to press.

Nicolae Manolescu [leader of the Civic Alliance Party—PAC]: PAC Caught Between Liberalism and the Christian-Democratic Orientation

Answering our question on whether being a member party of the CDR has helped PAC to elaborate a distinct doctrinary and ideological profile and if it has, what will be the ideological orientation of PAC that has to be approved during its next national convention, Mr. Nicolae Manolescu, the president of that political party, gave us the following answer: "No political group has joined the CDR merely aiming to define its political program or orientation. Thus, our joining the CDR has not helped us in better defining or identifying ourselves, but rather it has taught us how to cooperate with others to set up a united opposition. As to our future program—as I have said before—that does not reflect my wishes, and it is not the result of my or some other PAC leader's

ambitions, but rather the result of certain choices that are currently being made within the party and that are to be discussed during our convention next March or April. All I can tell you now is that those opinions are still quite divergent, such as the trend toward more liberalism in economy or the one advocating a Christian-democratic approach to that issue. However, such orientations are relatively limited, as they are in any democratic society, that spectrum—however wide it may be—comprises a small number of precise points only, so we cannot build up a whole new orientation on them. We may end up adopting an orientation that is close to that, but—I say it once more—that will not be result of someone's wishes or ambitions but rather the consequence of a more or less objective process that is going to take place over the next few months."

Ana Blandiana: The Conglomeration of the Whole Opposition

Mrs. Ana Blandiana, the President of the Civic Alliance [AC]—after pointing out that there are two different views concerning the reorganization of the CDR to achieve a higher efficiency, namely "the one that would like to reduce CDR to its current parliamentary functions, which would lessen the CDR's importance" and "the one that aims to achieve the conglomeration of the whole opposition, both of the one in parliament and the one outside parliament around the CDR"—said in the name of the AC that she would favor the latter variant. Speaking about the objectives of the AC, which are to be discussed during the national convention on 19-20 December, the president of that political group said that she endorses a politically oriented civic activity and that she would like the AC to continue functioning as a seed bed for all the CDR member parties. Nonpolitical civic activity is a trap laid by those who are in power, after 45 years of communism that have made Romanian public opinion become hostile to the idea of politics and political parties.

Vintila Bratianu: The Reunification of the Liberal Movement

Mr. Vintila Bratianu, the President of the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD], expressed his hope that the reunification of the liberal movement will begin from the base, from the counties. Mr. Bratianu will visit every PNL-CD county branch over the current week. Talking about [National Liberal Party President] Radu Campeanu, Mr. Vintila Bratianu has definitely excluded any forms of reconciliation, considering the reunification of the liberal movement under Campeanu a contradiction in terms, as the PNL leader—whom they have offered an office as undersecretary of state in the Vacaroiu cabinet—has close ties with those in power, and he "has perpetrated a coffee-shop policy aiming to disunite" the opposition. Therefore, Mr. Vintila Bratianu's conclusion is that the liberal movement will be reunited because of certain political ideas and not because of certain people. That opinion is also shared by the National Liberal Party-Young Wing, which also broke away from PNL because it openly rejected politicking within that group.

Inflation Statistics Given, Annual Production Down

AU0912173092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0839 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/12/1992—Inflation stood at 9.6 per cent in October as against 10.1 per cent in September, when state subsidies where further cut, say ECONOMISTUL citing the National Board for Statistics. Over January-October 1992, the average rate of inflation was of 8.8 per cent and prices rose 10.4 times on October 1990.

The industrial output increased in October by 2.6 per cent as against September 1990, but it was by 23.5-per cent lower than in October 1991. Work productivity was 3.5-per cent higher in October 1992 than in the previous month and 13 per cent lower than in October last year.

As for foreign trade, after three months in which export figures were higher than import ones, the trade balance was negative in October. The countries of the former Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain hold leading places in Romania's export. The activity of private trade companies reported a 1.9-per cent increase in export and a 2.1-per cent increase in import as against the 1991 average.

Retail sales were 3.8 higher than in September and 10-per cent lower than last year's. Market supplies of most products diminished as against last year, with drops ranging between 15.6 at oil and 63.1 per cent at rice.

October take-home salaries rose by 3.3 per cent on September. 959,369 unemployed were reported on 16 November, 10.3-per cent higher than in September; the unemployment rate reached 8.6 per cent.

Bosnian Serbs Offer Safe Passage Out of Sarajevo

LD0812204092 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] The presidency and all state bodies of the Serb Republic accept and support the action of the humanitarian organizations of the Serb Republic. To this end, the Commission for Refugees and Humanitarian Aid of the Serb Republic and the Red Cross of the Serb Republic hereby call on Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Yugoslavs, Jews, and all other citizens, irrespective of nationality and religion, who wish to leave Sarajevo—in view of the threat of famine and the cold winter—to prepare themselves in the coming days to do so.

The humanitarian organizations of the Serb Republic guarantee that all citizens of Sarajevo wishing to do so will be able to leave for any destination they choose. Those citizens who do not have a place to go will find accommodation on the territory of the Serb Republic while food, accommodation, and absolute safety will be guaranteed. The Army of the the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its supreme command guarantee that no citizen, irrespective of nationality, religion, or age, will be mobilized nor exploited in any other way by the Serb Republic, unless he or she wishes so.

The presidency, the state bodies, and the command of the Army of the Serb Republic guarantee that the act of evacuating Sarajevo civilians does not represent an attempt to gain any strategic advantage and that this humanitarian action, which in the opinion of the Serb side is very important, will in no way be abused.

Citizens of Sarajevo, be prepared to leave Sarajevo, the city in which life will become impossible due to hunger and winter, at a time which will be announced in due course. Citizens of Sarajevo, help each other in the evacuation in order to avoid the worst.

Muslims Oppose Serb Evacuation Offer

LD0912102592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Sarajevo]

[Text] The morning is passing unusually quietly in Sarajevo. Following the hellish day yesterday and fierce fighting on all battlefronts, only sporadic fire was heard overnight with occasional artillery and mortar battles on the Vogosca battle front and in the vicinity of the Zuc hill [north of the city].

General Satish Nambiar, UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] commander, is expected to arrive in Sarajevo today. In a letter to Nambiar last night Ejub Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency, says that the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities will vehemently oppose Karadzic's campaign to encourage Sarajevo Serbs to leave the city immediately. In addition, Karadzic has asked UNPROFOR to take part in the resettling of Serbs and all other civilians, allegedly to save them from hunger and winter. In his letter Ganic says that he does not expect UNPROFOR to take part in the latest Serb action of ethnic cleansing in which Serbs of Sarajevo are encouraged to move to the occupied suburbs from where the chetniks drove out all non-Serbs earlier this year.

Defenders Claim Successes in Sarajevo Fighting

LD0812165492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Report from Sarajevo by Zeljko Ruzicic]

[Text] Sarajevo can without doubt be described today as the largest battlefield in Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to official reports issued by the republic's health service center, over the past 24 hours the aggressors have killed 28 civilians including 21 in Sarajevo. The Sarajevo Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, which carries out its operations jointly with the units of the Croatian Defense Council, has radically changed its strategy over the past few days. Commando actions on the slopes of Mount Trebevic, in Hadzici, and especially in parts of Nedzarici have hit hard at the chetnik siege of the town and inflicted enormous losses on the enemy in both manpower and equipment.

Fierce battles have been waged in the Vogosca area where yesterday and overnight Sarajevo defenders advanced in the direction of Vogosca, which is under enemy occupation. [word indistinct] aggressors have deployed considerable tank and artillery forces but, according to the Sarajevo Corps, the defenders are firmly holding their newly-won positions.

The chetniks have been responding to the commando successes on the Sarajevo battlefield with increasingly intense fire from long-range artillery and tank missiles on town center and large residential districts. As a result it is almost impossible to move around the town today. In the districts of Olimpijsko Selo, Vojnicko Polje, and Alipasino Polje, chetnik shells have destroyed or damaged scores of apartments.

According to UN Protection Force observers, over the past 24 hours Serb aggressor forces have fired 259 missiles at Sarajevo. During the same period the city defenders responded more frequently than usual, firing 114 projectiles.

Sarajevo has been without electricity since last night. Even the town's hospitals are left without electricity. There is no water either. Due to the closure of Sarajevo airport and the disruption in delivering humanitarian aid, the town is gradually running out of food and medicine.

Heavy Fighting Keeps Sarajevo Airport Closed

AU0812182892 Paris AFP in English 1822 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (AFP)—Sarajevo airport will not re-open as planned Wednesday due to continued heavy fighting in the area, a U.N. military spokesman said here Tuesday [8 December].

Shells fell throughout the day on the western suburbs of the city, near the airport which is guarded by U.N. troops and the key logistics site for the U.N. force trying to guarantee humanitarian aid in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The situation was deteriorating Tuesday in Sarajevo.

Serb separatists, becoming increasingly dominant in their siege of the Bosnian capital, on Tuesday placed a truck-size container blocking the exit on the only road leading out of Sarajevo and were guarding it with tanks, information officer Major Juan Villalon said.

The Serb and Bosnian government sides at a meeting at Sarajevo airport on Monday signed a protocol to still their guns near the airport.

The protocol said they would "take steps to insure the safety of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) flights to and from Sarajevo," a spokesman said by telephone from UNPROFOR headquarters in Kiseljak, 30 kilometres (18 miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

"It was agreed the airport could re-open from midnight Tuesday," Kohnk said. But the agreement, like all previous cease-fires, failed to hold.

Serbs Cut Road Access to Sarajevo Airport

AU0812153892 Paris AFP in English 1316 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (AFP)—Serb forces cut road access to Sarajevo airport on Tuesday and fighting flared around the runway and in the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital as the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] said it was highly unlikely relief flights could resume on Wednesday [9 December] as planned.

U.N. troops abandoned a checkpoint controlling access to the airport road and the checkpoint was taken over by Serb assault tanks, an eyewitness said.

A spokesman for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) confirmed that the U.N. checkpoint was not manned Tuesday.

Meanwhile, from two to five Serb tanks were reported to be firing from the airport road at the Slav Moslem suburb of Dobrinja, which lies between the airport and the city. The sounds of shelling were loud and frequent in central Sarajevo, about 10 kilometres (six miles) from Dobrinja.

Bosnian government forces, who are mainly Moslem and Croat, were trying to counterattack after losing the western suburb of Otes to Serb forces last Friday, reliable military sources said.

They said the Serbs were responding to this, rather than mounting a new attack.

In Geneva, a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Silvana Foa, said: "The airfield has taken several rounds. The fighting is so heavy that it is now highly unlikely that the airlift will resume tomorrow as we had hoped."

She said the airport radar was out of action and this was likely to delay the reopening still further because it could not guide planes in poor visibility and winter conditions.

Foa said however that a train carrying 250 tonnes of relief from the Croatian coast had reached Mostar on Monday.

"The ideal would be that we could repair the two bridges between Mostar and Sarajevo in order to feed everyone all along the railroad," she said.

But this area was a "snipers' haven" and "conditions are not ideal" to start this sort of work, Foa said.

She said chlorine needed to treat Sarajevo's drinking water would run out by Thursday. UNICEF was trying to bring some in, but the task was difficult because of the dangerous nature of the chemical.

Fighting has sharply worsened in Sarajevo in December, after a month of relative calm in November marked by a ceasefire.

During the battle for Otes, two U.N. planes were shot at, the U.N. headquarters in Sarajevo was shelled and the radar at the airport, southwest of the capital, was destroyed by artillery fire.

Foa's statement put a damper on optimism raised earlier by a U.N. military spokesman in Sarajevo, Major Pinder Kohnk of Britain, who announced that the Serb and Bosnia-Hercegovina government sides had signed a protocol to still their guns near the airport.

The protocol, signed Monday at the airport, said "they would take steps to ensure the safety of UNHCR and United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) flights to and from Sarajevo," Kohnk said by telephone from UNPROFOR headquarters in Kiseljack, 30 kilometres (18 miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

"It was agreed the airport could reopen from midnight Tuesday," Kohnk said.

The meeting Monday was chaired by UNPROFOR and included Bosnian government and Serbian representatives at what is called a mixed military working group.

The third party in Bosnia-Hercegovina's civil war, the Croatians, did not attend.

UNPROFOR commander Indian General Satish Nambiar was expected in Sarajevo Wednesday, U.N. officials said here.

Serbs Claim Muslims Blocking Airport

LD0912094492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0056 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—For the purposes of Muslim-Croat propaganda over the last few days, the

authors of a "propaganda-war scenario" have been stubbornly serving the international and domestic public with fabrications "which have unskillfully concealed the aim of satanizing the Serbs and presenting them as solely responsible for the continuing hostilities in the region on the eve of the upcoming international meetings, especially a conference in Geneva scheduled for mid-December, designed to resolve the problem of former Yugoslavia and, by implication, of Bosnia-Hercegovina," the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic says in a statement forwarded to TANJUG this evening.

"The persistent lies that the Army of the Serb Republic has allegedly been bombing the Muslim part of Sarajevo, that it has cut off the road from the airport to the Muslim part of the city, that it has been hampering humanitarian aid convoys, that it hampers free movement of the population, etc, have the same goal," the statement says stressing that: "The General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic rejects all the accusations of the Croat-Muslim forces responsibly and categorically."

The General Staff goes on to stress that the state and military leaders of the Serb Republic have consistently proposed an end to all hostilities on the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina but the Muslim and Croat forces have persistently violated all agreements and existing treaties and continue with their offensive combat activities.

"The Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia continue to keep under occupation our territories in Hercegovina and Posavina, have carried out additional mobilization, and have increased the presence of their occupation forces on our territory".

"The Muslim side has devised and has been implementing an operation forcefully to break through the Serb positions in the region of Sarajevo code-named 'Envelope' [Koverat]. For several days the parts of Sarajevo under the control of the Serb forces have daily been hit by about 600 artillery shells which have caused many casualties among the civilian population and have been destroying the infrastrucuture," the statement says.

"For two days Muslim armed formations have been deploying a large number of vehicles and infantry in parts of the Stup junction and the main road from the airport to the Muslim part of Sarajevo with the sole aim of detaining by force the population in the Muslim part of the city and preventing the practical use of the road," the statement says and goes on to add that "official representatives of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command have been given evidence to support these facts and everyone else is welcome to verify them."

Karadzic Urges 'More Even Approach' by Clinton

LD0812175592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Serb Republic, told TANJUG today that only negotiations between the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina can bring a lasting and eventually a permanent peace to the Balkans.

After the Muslim and Croatian delegations today refused to sit at the same negotiating table with the Serb side as proposed by Cyrus Vance, Lord Owen, and Marti Atisaari, Karadzic said that he is surprised at the attitude of the Croats. According to Karadzic, there are indications that "Croatia is preparing for a large-scale war against the Serb Krajinas and Serbia as early as March."

"If that happens," Karadzic added, 10 million Serbs will rise up in unison to defend their existence and their states."

In the view of the Bosnian Serb leader, the international community "made a catastrophic mistake when it decided to put pressure on only one side, the Serbs." He expressed hope that the administration of incoming U.S. President Bill Clinton can effect a turnabout by adopting a more even approach to all the sides in the conflict.

"The key is in the hands of Clinton, who alone can correct the mistakes committed by the current U.S. Administration," Karadzic said.

Muslims must be told that Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be restored through war but exclusively at the negotiating table, Karadzic stressed. He concluded by saying that "this is the last chance to avoid a third world war."

Warns Against 'New Pressure' on Serbs

LD0812235092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has told the Novi Sad DNEVNIK on the eve of his visit to Geneva that he is setting off in the belief that the negotiations will at last yield some result.

Karadzic added, however, that he personally "has certain reservations, since the possibility is not ruled out of the Muslim side attempting again to carry out some maneuver."

The president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina says he is visiting Geneva at Cyrus Vance's invitation and that the maps of partition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be discussed at separate talks.

Commenting on the announced conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will not be attended by representatives of the warring parties, Karadzic said he had nothing against such a meeting, but that this meeting would be doomed to failure if it were convened to mount pressure on the Serbian people.

In Karadzic's words, any new pressure on the Serbs will only worsen the situation on the ground and fuel the war.

"I expect we are at last going to reveal and submit our maps, so we can see what is disputable and what is not,

so we can eventually break the deadlock," Karadzic said in his statement to tomorrow's issue of DNEVNIK.

Warns of Croat Offensive

AU0912100292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] In the continuation of the Geneva talks, the delegation of the Serbian Republic will today present to the co-chairmen of the conference a memorandum on the general situation in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was stated by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic.

The memorandum, which will be sent to all the most important offices in the world, stresses that the Muslims and Croats do not intend to stop combat operations, because they have been encouraged by the international community's unilateral pressure on Serbs. They are planning an offensive of larger proportions for next spring.

If the international community does not prevent them from doing this, we will be very close to World War III. This is stated, among other things, in the memorandum of the delegation of the Serbian Republic delegation prepared for the continuation of the Geneva conference.

Boban Outlines Plan for Croat Provinces

AU0812162092 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, Dec 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban Tuesday [8 December] submitted plans for up to three Croat provinces in a future Bosnia-Hercegovina in talks here with Yugoslavia peace conference chairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Boban told AFP in an interview that his map covered "two to three provinces" in Bosnian territory where Croats formed a majority of the population.

The map covered around 25 percent of Bosnian territory in which Croats made up 60 percent of the inhabitants, and would regroup 83 percent of all Bosnian Croats.

The Croats make up 17 percent of the total population of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnian Croat leader said the rights of the remaining Croats would be guaranteed by the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia, "with which we broadly agree."

A plan by the joint conference chairmen envisaged seven to 10 largely autonomous provinces, not divided along ethnic lines, within one state with a central government.

Boban said Vance and Owen had found his suggestions "reasonable" and said it was up to the Moslems and Serbians to make their own proposals.

"But we will not allow the others to decide for us," Boban warned.

Vance and Owen also met separately with the Moslem Foreign Affairs Minister of Bosnia, Haris Silajdzic, and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, a conference spokesman said.

Further talks are due to be held from now until Thursday.

A Karadzic aide said the Bosnian Serb leader had "not yet submitted his maps" to the conference chairmen and Martti Ahtisaari, chairman of the conference working group on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Serbs have already rejected the proposed Vance-Owen constitution and are insisting on three separate states divided along ethnic lines—giving themselves the lion's share of territory—linked by a weak central government.

In his AFP interview Boban, who met Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in the Croatian port of Split on Saturday, said "the military coalition between Croat and Moslem forces does not exist.

"We are trying to build one because we are defending ourselves against the same aggressor," he added, saying the Serbian siege of Sarajevo had turned the capital into "hell on earth."

Boban called for an end to the U.N. arms embargo against Bosnia which had led to a "struggle between David and the Yugoslav Goliath."

Croats had freed all their detainees, said Boban who accused the Serbs of still holding "some 1,500 prisoners in their concentration camps."

He also said he hoped Milan Panic, prime minister of the rump Yugoslav federation of Serbia and Montenegro, would beat Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in the Serbian presidential election set for December 20.

Minister Backs UN Peacekeepers Using Force

BK0412143492 Hong Kong AFP in English 1415 GMT 4 Dec 92

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, Dec 4 (AFP)—Bosnia's Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic Friday said the United Nations should allow peacekeepers in his war-torn state to use force to end Serbian atrocities.

"With 128,000 Bosnians dead so far, it merits more than just peacekeeping (duty) of the U.N.," he told reporters here.

Silajdzic said the U.N. was dragging its feet in approving force against Serbia and Montenegro to resolve the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, adding that a resolution should be passed to allow more peacekeepers in Bosnia.

"I don't think the situation (in Bosnia) is hopeless," Silajdzic, in Kuala Lumpur for a meeting with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, said.

"We've managed to stop the (Serbian) agression with what little we have but I do say that the action of the U.N. has been inadequate and slow," Silajdzic said.

He said the resolution adopted Thursday [3 December] by the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) was "serious, practical and ... stands firmly" in its objective to halt Bosnia-Hercegovina's destruction.

The 50-member OIC, following a meeting of its foreign ministers, urged the U.N. Security Council to allow immediate delivery of defensive arms to Bosnia and declare that the arms embargo against the rump Yugoslavia did not apply to Bosnia.

The OIC rejected U.N. objections to the use of force to protect Bosnian Moslems from Serbian forces and set January 15 as a deadline for the U.N. to review the situation in Bosnia.

On his meeting with Mahathir, Sladzic said he wanted to brief the Malaysian leader on the current situation in Bosnia as "Malaysia is among our best friends."

Predominantly Moslem Malaysia, one of Bosnia's biggest sympathisers, has offered temporary shelter to hundreds of Bosnian Moslems and raised about one million Malaysian dollars (400,000 U.S.) through private and government bodies to help the war-torn state.

In a related issue Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mustafizur Rahman said in Dhaka Friday that the OIC meeting would help stop atrocities in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"We believe that the conference has been extremely useful and that its outcome will help bring an end to the atrocities in Bosnia Herzegovina," he told the official BSS news agency on return home from the two-day meeting in Jeddah.

Commentary Rejects Any Similarity With Somalia

AU0812184792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Commentary by Zoran Pirolic]

[Text] The large UN military undertaking in Somalia that is to start tomorrow is the first of its kind in the history of this international organization. It is based on Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, the so-called war chapter, and it allows the Americans and troops from other countries to use military force for the distribution of humanitarian aid to the people of that country. So the UN operation in Somalia does not have the restrictions of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] in Bosnia. The troops in blue helmets will not hesitate to fire at anyone who obstructs the delivery of aid.

American warships are already in the port of Mogadishu, with soldiers in full combat readiness who will provide the sea support to the Somali capital, while American helicopters will secure the airport. All in all, 28,000 American troops and several thousand troops from nine other countries will take part in this UN operation in Somalia. About 1 million people are in danger of dying of hunger in this tragic African country, which has been wracked by a fierce tribal war for two years. Armed gangs seize almost 90 percent of the world aid, and the main objective of this operation is the pacification of Somalia. It is more of an international police operation than an orthodox military intervention. The one thing that the United Nations and countries taking part in this operation do not want is to arbitrate in the serious Somali crisis and to mediate in the tribal war. So it is not a question of a military intervention with the intention of solving the problems of one of the poorest countries in the world, but a military operation that will help the people of Somalia survive. About 99 percent of Somalians are Muslims divided in various tribes, and their war is seen in Africa as a family feud, a bloody, unnecessary and unpleasant one that has to be stopped by all means, including military intervention. The United Nations has made only one step in the hope that it will set the precedent that will prevent the repetition of the Somali scenario in other African countries, particularly Angola and Mozambique.

Can a similar operation be repeated in Bosnia-Hercegovina? Not likely, since the situations in the two countries are totally different. Bosnia-Hercegovina is a victim of a brutal aggression and genocide against the non-Serbian population, and the situation in the Balkans after the Bosnian tragedy is so sensitive that it could easily explode into a new Balkan war. The people of Bosnia-Hercegovina urgently need humanitarian aid, but even more so they need the decisiveness and proper measures that would stop the aggression against Bosnia. In other words, a different recipe is needed than that for Somalia. At the end of his presidential mandate, George Bush has sent American troops to Somalia, while he has left the Bosnian hot potato in Bill Clinton's hands. Since the European activities in solving the complex crisis in the former Yugoslavia are collapsing, and the aggressor is continuing with the destruction of Bosnian cities and the civilians in them, the new American president is expected to be far more energetic and effective in punishing the aggressor against our country.

Serb Army, UNPROFOR Commanders Hold Talks

LD0812181192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Following talks with Indian General Satish Nambiar, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in former Yugoslavia, Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the army of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], stated in Banja Luka today that it is only the Assembly of the Serb Republic that can decide on the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces on the territory of the Serb Republic, and that it will do so soon.

General Nambiar noted that the decision has been awaited for four weeks and that there should be no procrastination regarding this issue. He added that, as regards humanitarian flights over the territory of former

Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Mladic offered assurances that the Serb forces have not and will not imperil the flights in the future.

An agreement was reached, according to General Nambiar, regarding the resumption of negotiations conducted by French General Phillipe Morillon, UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, in connection with the cessation of all hostilities in former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Asked by journalists about a possible military attack on the Serb Republic, General Mladic replied that "every foreign intervention on this territory would represent an escalation of the conflict with far-reaching consequences."

He expressed his conviction that "the Serb people cannot be defeated, no matter who attacks them."

Mladic denied speculation that the deployment of peacekeeping forces in the Serb Republic represents its "silent occupation."

He said that "UNPROFOR is not an occupation but a peace force. The domestic and world public should be told this."

He said that he and General Nambiar have known each other for a long time, and that if the solution to the crisis had depended on them, it already would have been reached.

He further added that "General Nambiar is a peace-loving person," and that "his officers and soldiers, despite casualties for which we wish to express our sincere regret, have been fulfilling their tasks correctly."

Commenting on the latest Croatian-Muslim cease-fire violations, General Mladic said that "nothing can be achieved by waging war."

He asked General Nambiar to convey this message to Tudjman and Izetbegovic.

As regards a Muslim demand for the lifting of the embargo on arms imports, Mladic sad that "people here—Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, and all those who expect the aid—should be helped with food, medicines, and oil products, and not weapons and ammunition. Weapons should fall silent at long last," Mladic concluded.

Today's talks in Banja Luka, which were held at General Nambiar's request, also were attended by top-ranking officials of the Serb Republic, the UN peace forces, and the First Krajina Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic.

Serbian Assembly President on Cease-Fire

93BA0279A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 92 p 12

[Interview with Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, by Muharem Duric; place and date not given: "Krajisnik: The UN Observers Will See for Themselves Who Is Violating the Truce"]

[Text] Interest is focusing on the events of recent days in Hercegovina, especially its eastern section. At certain points, it has been almost impossible to figure out what is happening there. During the last two days, however, at least the beginning of an unraveling seems to have been presaged with the announcement that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] is going to that region. Dr. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic, referred to the arrival of the UNPROFOR in Hercegovina as the beginning of peace. At the same moment, Dr. Koljevic disputed stories which can be heard about the "betrayal of Hercegovina."

POLITIKA called upon Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, for more extensive explanation concerning the announced arrival of UNPROFOR forces as well as the alleged stories about the "betrayal of Hercegovina."

The Croats Have Violated the Truce

Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, first recalled that an agreement of the three belligerents on cessation of hostilities of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats was signed with the consent and assistance of the UNPROFOR. However, there has been a violation of the truce by the Croats, and cessation of hostilities therefore became impossible.

"In speaking to General Morillon, we insisted that observers come and that the United Nations be present to see who is violating the truce in the Hercegovina theater. Mr. Koljevic," Momcilo Krajisnik said, "headed our government leadership that went to eastern Hercegovina. A representative of the UNPROFOR also came."

In a statement for POLITIKA, Momcilo Krajisnik said that a meeting with the HVO (Croatian Defense Council) will probably be held today in order to establish precisely the way in which the truce that has been agreed to concerning Hercegovina is being monitored.

Concerning the alleged "betrayal of Hercegovina," Momcilo Krajisnik said:

"That propaganda has been out there all the time. We can well imagine what is involved, but because we do not have evidence, we do not want to go public. Nevertheless, there is propaganda to the effect that the government-political leadership of the Serbian Republic, and even representatives of local authorities, are renouncing the strategic objective of the Serbian Republic that the Neretva River be the border between western and eastern Hercegovina. The propaganda has become more frequent to the effect that someone has committed treason and consented to some other borders, and those are the borders of the banovinas."

Koljevic, according to Momcilo Krajisnik, said that there is no basis for such statements and that opinion, which is spreading like an epidemic. No one has consented to any borders which are different from the ethnic

space of the Serbian people in Hercegovina. The propaganda campaign being waged, according to Krajisnik, is aimed at demoralizing the Serbian people so that it would flee from the Neretva and its valley, which should be divided between the two ethnic communities, between the Croats and Serbs.

"Certain personnel are being very definitely and calculatingly slandered, especially the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], to the effect that they have betrayed Hercegovina, that they have agreed that they will grant a section of Hercegovina to the borders of the former banovinas in order to get certain other areas in exchange. All of that is groundless," Krajisnik said. "The border," he added, "will be established by agreement."

The Neretva as the Border

"We said precisely in Graz," Krajisnik said, "that in drawing the line of demarcation with the Croats the Serbs want the border to be the Neretva, and they stress their demand concerning the 'banovina borders.'

"That section of the Neretva to the 'banovina borders' is in dispute, and we have said that we will discuss this in certain subsequent talks, and it is therefore important that the war be brought to an end. That has not occurred, but an epidemic of disinformation has been launched to the effect that now someone on the Serbian side has supposedly consented to the 'banovina borders.' That is not so," Momcilo Krajisnik said.

He also provided a broader description of the situation around Nevesinje during these days of war. According to his own rough assessment, and he recalled that there does exist official information, regular forces of Croatia in the war in Hercegovina, together with forces from Herceg-Bosnia, wanted to take control of a strategic area extending further than the one they now hold. The objective was to take certain cities. According to Krajisnik, they are Nevesinje, Trebinje, and Ljubinje. That, Krajisnik said, would be a consolation after their defeats in other areas, and in this way, the thinking is, they would also gain a better negotiating position in some subsequent talks.

"Although that agreement was concluded, they are continuing to violate it, and they are continuing to go to war, because they feel that they will not be able to reach agreement with the Serbs any time soon, but should continue the war. I feel," Krajisnik said, "that this is more a case of military oversensitivity because of defeats in other areas and a case of joint operation with Croatia's regular forces in order to take as much territory as possible in Hercegovina. Herceg-Bosnia's primary goal is actually the region of Hercegovina. That is, they are much more interested in the areas of Hercegovina than in the Sava Valley or central Bosnia."

Stopping the War Is the Principal Objective

The president of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic also offered his view of the military situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the basic objectives of the Serbian side.

"First, the objective of our side is to establish an end to the war as soon as possible, through talks to continue to settle the disputed areas and issues in dispute. We emphasize as our contribution in that direction that everything can be a subject of the talks, and that applies even to the areas that have been captured in the battles.

"We want an end of the war and a continuation of the talks," Krajisnik said. "I think that there is goodwill on the Croatian side, but goodwill does not exist on the Muslim side. Certain mentors in the West are pushing the Muslim people to continue the war, and it is my opinion," Krajisnik said, "that those who are falsely deceiving them actually want the Muslim people to disappear, for any combination of an Islamic state to disappear. That SDA [Democratic Action Party] leadership, which is refusing to negotiate, has no eyes and is continuing to push that people further, and thereby all of us as well, into a total war.

"So, until Mr. Izetbegovic and the SDA consent to talks, I think there will be no cessation of the war. Unfortunately, there are already many dead, the war has taken on euphoric proportions, so that without pressures on the Muslim side as well, the war will not be stopped, and any truce and cease-fire will be unsuccessful," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, said in an interview with POLITIKA.

Izetbegovic Tours 'Free Territories'

AU0812153092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Mujo Delibegovic report from Zenica]

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, visited Zenica today. He held talks with the representatives of the commune and members of [word indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. The president, who prior to his arrival in Zenica visited Mostar, Konjic, Tarcin, Pazaric and Visoko, showed particular interest in the situation at the front, the organizational and logistical support for units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, the organization and distribution of humanitarian aid, and the organization of the civilian and military authorities in the free territories.

Since Jasmin Jaganjac is accompanying Izetbegovic, it is to be expected that the president will be given details about the formation of the joint command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council, which has already produced significant results in central Bosnia on the consolidation of the defense lines and the organization of resistance against the Serbian aggressor.

Foreign Minister Hails Tour of Islamic Countries

LD0712201392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo, who headed a Croatian delegation on a two-week tour of Islamic countries, returned to Zagreb this morning. In a statement for Croatian radio, he said many contacts had been made with the countries that the delegation visited, and that they are all resolutely committed to ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible. Croatia's stands received support not only at two international conferences—in Istanbul and Jeddah—but also in many talks with representatives of a number of countries in the region. Ending his statement, which we will make public in its entirety in our evening program, Skrabalo said:

[Begin recording] I can say the following in conclusion: This trip by our Croatian delegation was probably a turning point in our relations with the Islamic world, which is a very important factor. In the future, Croatia will probably have to—let me say it figuratively, as I did several times on their media—Croatia must have one hand extended and firmly linked with the European Community, the central European initiative, and Europe, but its other hand must be extended toward Turkey and Middle Eastern countries. These countries have firm economies; there are no recessions there. They need Rijeka and Croatia as their entrance to Central Europe, so everything indicates that we must cooperate with these countries, and these countries are a bloc that will help all our endeavors to stop this unfortunate bloodshed. [end recording]

UN Forces Accused of Failing To Protect Croats

LD0712211592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Terror waged against the Croatian people in the occupied parts of Benkovac and Obrovac municipalities has become intolerable in the past 15 days. Nine Croats were killed in Benkovac municipality in the past 10 days alone, and plunder and destruction of property, as well as physical and mental harassment are daily occurrences.

Dusan Kuman and Dragan Jurjevic, Croatian government administrators for Benkovac and Obrenovac municipalities, revealed this at a press conference today. They stressed that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has done nothing to protect the remaining 710 Croats in Benkovac municipality and 266 Croats in Obrovac municipality. For this reason, the administrators for the Benkovac and Obrovac municipalities, together with Sima Prtenjaca, Croatian Government coordinator for civilian affairs in Sector South, asked for an urgent meeting in Zadar with the UNPROFOR Command for Sector South, which would agree forms of protection of and accommodation for the Croatian people in the occupied parts of Benkovac and Obrovac municipalities.

Serb Party Appeals To Disarm Krajina Units

LD0812202792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] In an appeal issued today, the Club of Deputies of the Serb National Party [Srpska Narodna Stranka—SNP] called on the UN Security Council, UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Cyrus Vance, Lord Owen, and on all international institutions to extend the powers of the UN peace force in order to disarm all military units in the region of so-called Serb Republic of Krajina. This can be executed by entrusting the peace forces with the powers necessary to establish peace.

In its appeal the SNP calls on the people of Krajina to vote in local elections as a step toward achieving self-government, as guaranteed by the Constitution, and to create conditions for the political settlement of all issues. The people of so-called Krajina should take part in elections and organize the local population as the only way to remove the danger of a military option and to implement the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia over these areas.

The SNP deputies' club calls on the Croatian authorities to consistently implement their amnesty law, the Constitution, and the constitutional law guaranteeing human rights and freedoms and the rights of ethnic and national communities and minorities. The SNP calls on all citizens of the Republic of Croatia, and especially the people of so-called Krajina, to search for sensible solutions, and warns of a historical burden and responsibility for the consequences of a military option.

Final Battle Ahead for Bosnia Land Links

93BA0301A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 92 p 3

[Article by Fran Visnar: "The Dominoes Are Collapsing in the Direction of Tuzla"]

[Text] From now on, the war in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] will be a battle for corridors and for control of the main transportation routes. The war will be won by that side which is first to take what it has in mind and to expand and consolidate its corridors. That is precisely why the Serbian forces in B-H are continuing their persistent warfare. Their assessment of the situation is based on these reflections: The conflicts should be brought to an end before real winter begins with the snow and cold, but also before the UN peacekeeping troops which have arrived are completely deployed. The Republican administration in the United States, that is now leaving, will not, according to Serbian assessments, make any more severe frontal military moves against Serbia over the next two months, and the UN units in B-H are too weak to seriously jeopardize Serbian intentions. The Serbs, then, coordinating the moves of the Knin and Krajina (Banja Luka) Corps, have three priority objectives.

In first place is the undertaking of a large offensive in those parts of Bosanska Posavina [Sava Valley in Bosnia] which they still do not control. This is above all the region of Orasje, Domaljevac, and Donja Mahala, which are held by units of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and part of the B-H TO [Territorial Defense]; the Croatian Bosnian forces are from their territory putting pressure on a part of the corridor, vital, but narrow, from Banja Luka to Semberija (Bijeljina) to Serbia.

The Croats, together with Muslim units from Brcko, are constantly harassing, intersecting, and cutting off this "krajina" highway route near Loncar, Gorica, and Krebsici (the corridor is only 200 meters wide in some places, mainly 1,000 meters, but 2,000 meters at the most). By way of reprisal, but also in order to secure its flanks and prevent a possible passage of ammunition, rested men, and equipment from Croatia to Orasje and vicinity—the Serbian artillery recently received an order to strike fiercely against Zupanja and the Bosnian Muslims over the Sava, which, along with all the other reasons, are considered in Banja Luka to be the principal logistical bases of the HVO, which was also their opinion of Slavonski Brod when they attacked Bosanski Brod. That tactic is also being pursued near Brcko: With that same logic, the Serbian howitzers and cannons are showering shells on the Croatian towns Rajevo Selo and Posavske Podgajce, the closest neighbors of Brcko, Loncar, and Gorica on the other side of the Sava.

The stepped-up deployment of batteries with surface-to-surface missiles around Doboj, Modrica, and Odzak is also related to these actions of the Serbian artillery. This finally explains the more frequent flights this summer of the Serbian twin-engine Antonov-26 transport planes: In addition to personnel, ammunition, and weapons, along with food for the army and pilots, every time they were bringing to the Banja Luka airforce base at least one new Luna, which easily fit in an An-26; that aircraft can carry up to 5.5 tons of cargo (the Luna missile weighs three tons at the most, and heavy launchers were brought in by land and stationed in Banja Luka even before the war began in B-H). Having destroyed the underground airfield at Bihac (it had played its role in the war against Croatia), the Serbs were relieved of a worry, because they already had a backup in Banja Luka, and, it is turning out, an even more important air base for waging war in B-H.

With the reserve surface-to-surface missiles, the Serbs can devastate Gradacac, Brcko, and Orasje and environs from new positions, and with regrouped infantry-mechanized forces (30,000 men, self-propelled artillery and helicopters) they can carry out the operation of all of Bosanska Posavina, which would settle the issue of a corridor to Serbia for a lengthy period of time. The second most important corridor for Serbia is not only the Banja Luka-Knin highway, but also the railroad line in the same direction. The only significant interruption along that route is Bihac, a city that has been a martyr and has been designated with felt markers on all the Serbian staff maps. In addition to the cannon and missile bombardment, the Serbs have committed an additional 7,000 to 10,000 men for a general attack against that city.

The third most important corridor for the Serbs is the one in central Bosnia. This is the Jajce-Travnik-Sarajevo route, where Serbian plans call for achieving a domino effect. When Jajce fell, it became the main staging area for Serbian troops and equipment. Advancing missile launchers to Jajce means bringing Travnik into range (Zenica is also threatened, as is Bugojno). The taking of Travnik would expose Sarajevo to strikes with surface-to-surface missiles from the west, while from the other directions it is in a vice imposed by Serbian artillery and tanks. The domino effect ends with Tuzla. If Brcko falls in the north, along with most of central Bosnia, Tuzla is left to its own fate.

Certainly, things will not go so easily and quickly as the Serbs have imagined. As a matter of fact, they will no longer gain anything more on the battlefield without high casualties of their own. After all, if the plan "to protect Serbian corridors" is realized, the Serbs have definitively won the war in Bosnia, thereby threatening all of Hercegovina and indeed even Croatia. That is precisely why this plan must not succeed in any of the three objectives it poses. The Croatian-Muslim forces know that. That is why the battles being waged are a matter of survival, while those yet to come represent an out-and-out struggle for life or death without any mercy. Is the world at all aware that the most terrible ("small local") war since the war in Vietnam is being waged nowhere else than in Europe?!

Parliament Discusses Serb Issue, Citizenship

AU0812144192 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 92 p 5

[Unattributed report on the fourth day's session of the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies; in Zagreb on 30 November: "Loyalty on a Scale"]

[Text] The debate on mutual relationships between Croats and Serbs was opened by Zivko Juzbasic. He paid tribute to the Croatian police "who had carried the main burden in defending the country," and added that he supported Veselin Pejnovic on the question of citizenship. "Why are we separating families," Juzbasic asked, "instead of being happy that people are struggling to get Croatian citizenship? How is it possible that my fellow countrymen from Banija, who are Croatian citizens by birth and have been living there for 500 years, cannot obtain citizenship certificates? We must offer them the hand of reconciliation, and not deny citizenship to people who went through the war together with us and proved that Croatia is their country. The matter is unacceptable, and thus we are making more enemies for ourselves," Juzbasic maintained.

Tomislav Duka (Croatian Democratic Community) responded by saying that "among those killing Croats were some people from Banija as well, and Croatia imprisoned nobody who was not proved to have blood on

his hands. All honest people can be citizens of Croatia." Juzbasic replied that he was not defending the criminals, but he said that the Serbs who remained in Banija, Kordun, and Lika have been exposed to the terror of the chetniks. Milivoj Kujundzic (Croatian Democratic Community) emphasized: "You Serbs have to reconcile yourselves to your minority status, or—bon voyage." After saying this, he was warned by Stipe Mesic to avoid such excessive views. Marijan Juric criticized the Serbian representatives for the fact that none of them had called upon their compatriots to lay down their arms. Boris Tepsic (Social Democratic Party) immediately responded by saying that in the meeting organized by the party, 300 distinguished citizens of Serbian nationality had expressed their loyalty toward Croatia as their native country and fatherland. Ivo Skrabalo (Croatian Social Liberal Party) claimed that one could not demand an automatic confirmation of loyalty from anybody, especially not from one ethnic group. Instead, one should enforce the law against those who had committed offences against the Croatian state. Dr. Savka Dabcevic Kucar also appealed for common sense. She said that sorrow for Croatian lives lost and the devastation of Croatia, as well as the fact that a section of the Serbian community took part in it, could not and must not be an element in Croatian state policy which would associate loyal Serbs with the aggressors. She also mentioned that Mirko Tankosic, deputy and member of (Croatian National Party), a Serb by nationality, had fought the chetnik aggressor voluntarily for more than a year. In his reply, Vlado Gotovac (Croatian Social Liberal Party) claimed that a Ministry of Internal Affairs report raised important questions concerning Croatian internal policy, and so parliament should discuss the question of the nation's reputation, which had not, unfortunately, been the case. "It is really an astounding fact that the whole history of the Croatian state has often been denigrated in parliament, which I do not accept, because Croatia has not existed for only two years. The Croatian reputation in the world is deteriorating. It is not true that the critics are to blame. You should not think that people who come here are blind or deaf, or that they are not capable of seeing what is going on. The Croatian image is undergoing difficulties, and that is because of us as well as because of events," Gotovac said. "As for the relationships between Serbs and Croats, the position of the Serbs in Croatia can be regulated by laws, but problems will arise in places where we live together. The Serbs have to know that after this horrible war, life is not going to be easy for those who survive, because we put up with it for 45 years [sentence as published]. That question will be settled when the Serbs finally accept the Croatian flag, the Croatian anthem, the Croatian army, and the Croatian police, and until then such disputes will continue." Luka Bebic (Croatian Democratic Community) responded to Gotovac's remarks about Croatia's worsening reputation. According to Bebic, this is largely a consequence of repeated accusations that the Croatian authorities and state are illegitimate, undemocratic, and so forth.

Gotovac responded by saying that he has not questioned Croatian democracy in any respect, and that he was only saying that the press was no more responsible for this worsening reputation than some of our own actions were, which was a big difference.

"Snow" and "Footprints"

"Snow does not fall in order to cover the hills, but in order to show every animal's footprints," Vice Vukojevic (Croatian Democratic Community) said at the rostrum. He criticized the liberals for wanting to change the subject. He reproached Jozo Rados for declaring Croats in Bosnia and Hercegovina a national minority, and for his request for a discussion in parliament on the fall of Bosanski Brod and Jajce. "If that issue is discussed", Vukojevic said, "then it should be mentioned that Croatia, as the mother country of Croatian people, has been accused of sending its own troops into Bosnia and Hercegovina." Then he asked rhetorically who destroyed Croatia's reputation in the world, and immediately answered, asking the liberals to look at what some newspapers have written about Croatia: "That is what the western liberal newspapers have been writing, and these are the newspapers published by your elder brothers. Do not expand the discussion, as it is no good either to you or to us," Vukojevic said.

Vladimir Gotovac replied by saying that the discussion had not been expanded by the liberals, but by the people from the Croatian Democratic Community, and added that he regarded himself as a delegate of the Croatian people first, and then as a delegate of his party.

Drazen Budisa also took part in the discussion, asking Vukojevic to give examples of the liberal press which severely criticized Croatia. He added that he could show some liberal party newspapers that severely criticized the Croatian Social Liberal Party for recognizing the legitimacy of this government and accepting the fairness of the elections.

Rados said that he had not said that the Croatian people in Bosnia and Hercegovina were a minority, because they are one of the constituent peoples of Bosnia and Hercegovina. He asked Vukojevic to give an explanation of his snow and footprints: "The discussion and the way of debating is conforming to a pattern introduced by Momir Bulatovic. What do you mean by the animals you were talking about, what is this actually all about, and what is your point?" Vukojevic answered by claiming associating him with Bulatovic was "in poor taste".

Article Views Government 'Mistrust' of Public

AU0812180892 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 92 (Europe edition) pp 8,9

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Does Tudjman Trust the Croats?"]

[Text] Research and surveys are usually carried out to determine the extent to which the people trust the

government, but maybe it is time to turn the question around and ask: To what extent does the government trust the people? After the last parliamentary session, the question of trust and its criteria cannot be avoided any longer. Does the system, and especially the way it functions, work from trust and openness, or is it mistrustfully closed? Perhaps the most important issue in the given situation is whether and to what extent the president of Croatia trusts the people who have elected him. In our circumstances, those of huge presidential authority, this can significantly determine the political situation, and sometimes it can even be more important than what the people think of the government.

In these circumstances, even the president's psychological profile becomes very important. Does he trust people or is he mistrustfully withdrawn and suspicious. People who have known Franjo Tudjman for years say that he has always exhibited a desire to dominate, that in relationships with people he is not in favor of equality, which can partly explain his pronounced concern for his personal safety. Therefore, it is not surprising that the president very often talks about "threats" on his life, and for a time, his favorite topics were plots in all their very imaginative and varied combinations, like the HOS-KOS one. There is probably something concrete behind all this, although the public has always been denied serious information as to what it was all really about.

The exceptional security measures surrounding the president speak of a degree of risk involved, but they also say something about the psychology of the person who orders them. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the president's partiality to pomp, but it seems that we can also talk about some slight symptoms of a threat syndrome, which, as is well known, does not have to be in proportion to the real danger. This condition can get worse by any evident lack of ovations. It is probably not easy for the Croatian president when he attends sports events and there is large-scale booing aimed at him. People are often merciless, and it is often precisely those people who wanted a god, and then found out it was only a man, who are ready to denounce him as an evil spirit, in this way getting revenge for their own delusions and emotional handicaps.

The incredible popularity of a theatrical play in which, among other things, the Croatian president is parodied, and the way in which the audience reacts precisely to these passages, suggests the possibility of building a healthier relationship, one that includes laughter, with a real leader. In the first place, however, all this resembles an explosion of frustration, owing to, among other things, an exaggerated insistence on presidential pomp. All this can, of course, be intensely reflected in the policy that originates at the Presidential Palace. Another thing that can be influential is the decline of Croatia's reputation and that of her president personally. Although Tudjman decisively dismisses this decline, one can guess what is going on inside him by the distorted grimace on his face.

Is it because of this, or some other reason, that the question of trust in the people is no longer an issue concerning one man's mental makeup, even if he happens to be the president of Croatia? Mistrust is becoming a component of the system. At the last parliamentary session, it was evidently built into the way economics and politics function. The changes in the law on privatization are due not only to a need to fill up the state coffers, nor to the desire of the ruling party, or rather its leadership, to keep its paws on all the national treasure. By having a state-controlled economy, they become its owner. Although the ruling party had, and still has, widespread support in precisely that part of society that can be called the working class, it never returned this trust. The Croatian president spoke of strikes as part of a subversive war against Croatia; the government would not agree to give away for free even a part of the stocks; management committees were widely installed in companies; and now even Prime Minister Sarinic admits that the economy has been nationalized.

All this can be taken as an expression of mistrust in the workers—from the ones operating the machines all the way up to those in management posts—but also as an introduction to a growing economic depression. If it is understood, at least verbally, that the only way out is through private enterprise, then the enterprising talents of the greatest possible number of workers should be stimulated. This is possible only by applying international know-how and by having the workers participate. By taking away all their rights and by not trusting them, you cannot engage the workers' positive energy, you can only turn them into a lumpen proletariat.

The law on districts is impregnated with the same mistrust, and it will probably have the same depressing consequences. By suspending modern man's achievment, that of local self-management, and by installing district and municipal prefects, Croatia is turning into a puppet whose strings are going to be pulled from the Presidential Palace. The fact that, while this topic was being discussed, party restraining valves were opened shows that the creators at the top are well aware of the potential of dissatisfaction. It also speaks for their manipulative skills, because they have thrown the bone of contention to the Croats, so that they can fight like real hillbillies [zagorci], without realizing that they are not the masters. Croatia is arguing about municipal borders, but forgetting to ask what kind of authority and how much of it the municipalities will actually have. If the decisions are going to be made in Zagreb, then the authority will not reach the people, not even through the forming of a lot of little municipalities. If the citizens will not have the right to participate in local decisions, they will experience the municipalities as sack cloth on bare skin.

After these two moves that affect two vital spheres of life, it can be asked whether the authorities have decided to terminate the vital components of democracy. If we were dealing only with one such move, we might be able to say

that this was maybe a coincidence, an accident, hastiness. This way—it seems we are dealing with a system. If the degree of mistrust of the Croatian authorities in the people is so great that they intend to take away their right to elect their own local authorities, is the next step not the removal of the right to other choices? In the end, can we expect the government to elect itself? If things have gone so far that not only public critics, but also deputies in parliament are proclaimed to be opponents and detractors of the Croatian state, and if it has already come to the point where, to quote Vlado Gotovac, "the accusations in the Croatian Parliament have reached a point when we can begin to talk about treason", then everything is possible.

It is nice to listen to Vladimir Seks when he warns of "the degree of heightened responsibility at a time when Croatia is in a 'to be or not to be' position." Nice, because it was precisely due to his prosecuting expedition against journalists that Croatia found herself on the pages of foreign newspapers and bore the brunt of international displeasure. Whether he had received orders or support from above for this reckless and unwise action is best known to himself, but it is safe to say that it did more harm than good. Croatia unnecessarily disgraced herself. Seks, of course, finds "the hunters of alleged Croatian errors" harmful. One word against another: who is to say what is harmful for Croatia—criticism itself, or proclaiming it to be an act of hostility?

Of course, it is a lot easier to disqualify and label something, because it divests one of the necessity of having to answer various remarks. But where will accusations of hostility take you? Are those in authority or near it automatically right, while all others have to prove their good intentions, even if it means being blind, deaf, and mute? Is there such a thing as permitted and constructive criticism, as opposed to the prohibited and destructive kind? Or is it only when one is apologetic that he has good intentions? Or is, for example, discontent in streetcars and in queues for brown bread harmless for Croatia, while disapproval from foreign newspapers is dangerous? Or does it mean that it is unimportant what the local folk think, and that we face the outside world wearing a mask of pretence? That it does not matter that there is misery on the inside, as long as the outside is shiny? Or is it only that it is understood that domestic criticism is powerless (in addition to being frequently unheard), while the criticism from outside can have consequences? Finally, is discrimination being made not only between types of criticism but between its authors; a division into those who are not considered enemies and those who have to prove their good intentions?

When we start to speak and function within the categories of trust and mistrust, then the question formulated by Vlado Gotovac becomes vital: "Who sets the criteria, the index and order for sentences and questions that can be criticized, and those that cannot? Who is the one who decides which criticism is in Croatia's best interests and which is not? Who decides that my criticism is harmful to Croatia, and who decides that it is not? Is my own personal feeling and relationship to my country not enough, and do I need to have a mentor on such occasions?"

Therefore, it is becoming increasingly more important whether the government, and the president as its symbol and dominating element, trusts its people or they believe that the people have to earn this trust?

Federal

Kosovo Seen as 'Biggest Source of Instability'

LD0812205792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's (FRY) government has assessed that the Serb province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet) is the biggest source of instability in FRY and a potential hotbed, it was said in the reply of the federal government and the Federal Defense Ministry to a question submitted to parliament by Deputy Miljkovic on Friday [4 December].

Ethnic Albanians in Kosmet (the majority population in the province) with the help of some foreign countries are preparing their own armed units and carrying out terrorist activities, such as the attack on members of the Yugoslav Army and Serb police, it was said in the reply.

Political leaders of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet continue to ignore all measures and activities of the Serb authorities. The Yugoslav government also warned that the activities of the Republic of Albania's Army had intensified at the border with FRY and that requests by Albanian officials for the sending of UN troops to Kosmet were becoming more frequent.

It was also said that the above activities were aimed at secessionism, although leaders of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet believe that the time for armed rebellion is not yet ripe. They will, thus, opt for political pressure and terrorist activities.

According to the Yugoslav Government, future developments and the security situation in Kosmet depend on ethnic Albanian political leaders and their foreign advisers and protectors.

The Yugoslav Army is ready and fully prepared to preserve the integrity and dignity of the people and the state, it was said in conclusion.

A strong separatist movement has been active in Kosmet for quite some time and its aim is to secede from the Republic of Serbia and to unite with neighbouring Albania. Leaders of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet refuse to recognize Republic of Serbia authorities and have decided to boycott early elections in Serbia and FRY, scheduled for December 20.

Assistance to Bosnia Serbs Not Ruled Out

LD0812174692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The federal government and Defense Ministry do not rule out possible assistance to the Serb people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, if the Republic of Croatia continues its aggression against the Serb territories, and in particular if foreign invasion forces become involved. This is stated in a reply by the federal government to a question raised by Milorad Jevric, a deputy in the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens.

At a proposal of the Supreme Defense Council of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the prime minister will take the final decision on this.

Deputy Jevric asked when the government will conclude a military treaty with Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina aimed at protecting them from the Croatian aggression against Hercegovina.

The reply adds that at this momen[t] [g]overnment maintains that its priority task is t[o] [p]eaceful solution to the crisis on the territor[y] [o]f Yugoslavia and that any military treaty w[ould] be seen as a military involvement, of which we have been accused by many international factors. [passage omitted]

President Cosic Addresses Army Officers

AU0812211692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, today visited the command of the First Army in Topcider. The president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was welcomed by Lieutenant General Vladimir Stojanovic, commander of that army, and his associates. According to the Information Service of the First Army, General Stojanovic informed President Cosic during the talks about the combat readiness and difficulties facing the members of the army in these hard times. It has been agreed that the Yugoslav Army should not be interested in rivalry among political parties and the struggle for power, nor in the ideological inclinations of parties and movements and their leaders, but only in the successful defense of the integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the protection of its constitutional order.

Addressing the officers of the First Army, President Cosic said:

[Begin recording] Destiny and history have endowed me with the extreme responsibility that I, author of the fictional First Serb Army, should be your supreme commander now. In my long and [word indistinct] life there has not been and could not have been a greater responsibility and greater honor.

I am extremely elated today in the First Army of the Yugoslav Army; elated, satisfied, and concerned. I am elated to speak to people who have devoted their lives to freedom and the motherland, satisfied that I have seen and heard, and will yet hear from you about the technology, combat readiness, the morale [word indistinct] and patriotic power that can provide freedom to this country and these people. I believe in you, I believe with all my mind and all my soul. Our entire nation believes in you. In these times of temptation which have been rare in our modern history, you should be thinking, what

is similar to this November, to this December? Then I came to the conclusion that only November and December of 1915 were similar to this November and this December. I am not saying this as an author, I am saying this as the president of the republic. [sentence as heard] It was only in November and December, only in Prizren, in Pec, that the Supreme Command of the Serb Army had greater temptations, greater responsibility, and I will not say greater but identical tasks such as face you today.

I know, believe me I know, what a man in my position, in my job, can know about your problems, your concerns, and what kind of difficulties you have to fight. You are most certainly the institution of our people and our state that has suffered the most from the disintegration of our country and the collapse of one order. You are the institution, the organization, you are those people, that profession, those citizens who will suffer the longest because of a historic collapse that befell this country and this generation, and these generations.

The world is such, the circumstances in which we live are such that you are again being burdened with the most responsible and most difficult tasks concerning our survival. It is my duty to tell you what you already know very well: Without an organized legal state, based on freedom and law, on justice and responsibility, there can be no well-organized and equipped army. We are only today founding a new state out of the remains of one country, on the ruins of one country, of one order. What should this new state be like? I am what I as a man [word indistinct], and at this moment I can say only a few most global [word indistinct]. I believe that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be a state of an equal, organized, and democratic unity between Serbia and Montenegro. It should be a state free of the entire heritage of the Titoist order that has had such a tragic effect on our lives, and will continue to do so for a long time to come. I want it to be that, I want to serve, I want to fight for a state of freedom and justice, for a state of social affluence, of social justice, for a state that will not be [word indistinct] in the essential sense of those great ideals that generations have carried who have tried to change the world, and those ideals that exist in the mental and spiritual foundation of mankind at its best.

I feel great responsibility on the part of the state organization toward the Army. I must openly say that our state has still not fulfilled that responsibility, it has still not given the Army what it had to give it, what the vital interest and the survival of this people require.

Many people, many party oriented people still see you as an ideological army. They (?justifiedly) see you as an ideological army. They see you in such a traditional way that one believed [words indistinct]. In that big mental and moral effort to make you an army of a democratic society and of a state based on a rule of law, to (?de-ideologize) you, to be not a party army, but an army of the fatherland, that is a consciousness of our national values, the consciousness of the richness and beauty of our country, this is a belief in developmental forces, in national power, in progress and the future of this country. If we founded our (?patriotism) on these ideological and spiritual assumptions, there will be sufficient freedom and spiritual and civil space for all those [word indistinct] orientations upon which a free society exists.

However much you may be stating that or however much you may be striving for it, you cannot be politically indifferent in these times. God forbid that you are such and I do not advise you to be such. You are citizens, you are parents, you are sons, you are brothers and you (?have to have) your opinion about any political orientation. However, what we must strive for is that the Army as an institution must be at some [word indistinct] of all parties.

Today all, or most parties [word indistinct] patriotism and nationalism, in [words indistinct]. I, as a citizen and a man find it difficult to listen to these battle cries from television spots by parties and candidates, but we have been invited and are ready to contribute with our experiences, those experiences that we have to differentiate patriotism from nationalist hatred and nationalist intolerance, to differentiate the striving for democracy from the striving toward selfish and unsocial interests.

Under these conditions, our country may be solving one of its most difficult problems in modern history. These elections should lead us into a new stage of our social, national, and state development. If they do not manage to do that, then it will not be good for the Army or any of us.

I expect, I believe that our people, our society will really accept this responsibility to elect as its representatives in the assemblies its most honest, its best, its wisest, and its most loyal people. I do not see them in any party and I do not want to see them in any party. I see them in the whole of the [word indistinct] in the whole of our society, and by no means under one banner.

We are facing great tribulations. We are threatened so much, we are probably the most endangered country in Europe today. We are certainly the most endangered people in this part of the world and on this continent. We have really to be ready for this hour of tribulation. There can be no alternative there. We must defend by all means our country, our survival, our human and civilian dignity. If you heard from me the sentence and statement that we must bow and (?bend), I also said that you should not and must not kneel. I am sure that you as soldiers understand very well what my statement and my [words indistinct] means.

[Words indistinct] sobriety united with courage to make it possible for us to defend ourselves, to make it possible for us to win in defense.

Without a bit of doubt that our Army, the whole of our Army, that our whole officer corps shows any vacillation, that it shows any lack of the readiness to do is duty, I (?greet) you, I beg you to take this word of mine as an occasion, an introduction into our talk. I am ready to answer all your questions. [end recording]

SRS Cites Panic's Economic, Military Failings

AU0812200492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Election statement by Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serb Radical Party (SRS); time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Seselj] The Serb Radical Party [SRS] would like to point out to the Serb and Yugoslav public all the possible catastrophic consequences of the economic policy of Milan Panic's federal government. It is planning to freeze salaries and prices. The freezing of salaries, when the discrepancy between the highest and the lowest is so vast, would increase social poverty and create additional social problems and chaos in the country. The SRS believes that it is time to equalize salaries as much as possible, to bring them closer, so as to balance the buying power of the population. That is the only way to fight inflation, though it would not go all the way since it would be impossible to eliminate the inflation totally under the circumstances, but at least we can live in conditions that guarantee the minimum standards of living.

On the other hand, the SRS is calling on all the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to condemn publicly the racketeering by the federal government concerning the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The federal government is planning to remove the most capable generals and army commanders, and to bring in toadies instead. It wants to replace the best officers in the federal Ministry of Defense, to replace the key people in our army with inept but obedient people who will serve foreign interests against their own people. The SRS believes that the army should retain its nonparty, non-ideological character, but that it should be led by the best, bravest, and most capable people. We believe that any abuse of the army for electoral purposes would also have fatal consequences. We condemn all those federal officials who are now racketeering in army circles and would like to use the army for their own ends. But that will be stopped, as the army will remain outside daily politics, outside party politics; the army is only in the service of the people and the state.

Report on Cosic Resignation Threat Denied

LD0812225892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2213 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Dragoslav Rancic, press adviser to Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic, denied in a statement to TV Politika tonight a report carried by the Russian NOVOSTI news agency, to be published in tomorrow's BORBA, that "President Dobrica Cosic could submit his resignation if the games involving the candidacy of Milan Panic for president of Serbia continue."

"That was the last thing on President Cosic's mind when we were last in touch, at 1900," Rancic stated.

Minister Urges Negotiation, Dialogue on Status

LD0812182792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic today said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ought to pursue a policy of negotiation and dialogue with international sectors despite the pressures it faces, in the context of which a tightening of sanctions is not ruled out.

"I do not believe in a military option, force, or war," Djukic said. He said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia "is in no position to impose solutions," "but it is in a position to initiate internal democratic processes" and to constantly contribute to the Geneva process of negotation.

Another "black offensive" against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is under way, Djukic said in the "TANJUG's Guest" program. The pressures we have been subjected to as well as threats of suspending diplomatic relations are not news, "as they do not benefit even those who generate them," he said.

In Djukic's words, there are three crucial elements in the solution to the question of the international position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. These are: the state that has not been disputed despite the pressures; the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which no one calls into question; and the practical internationalization of the Serb question in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Quite apart from this, it is also a fact that the Serbs both in the Krajinas and Bosnia-Hercegovina have already created institutionalized state structures and this fact cannot be ignored, Djukic said.

"The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina should now launch a resolute peace offensive," something that would facilitate the calming down of the war in that republic, Djukic said, adding that their leaders had already repeatedly stressed their willingness to hold talks, although there is nothing the Serbs alone can do since peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina depends in equal measure on all three sides.

Djukic said he believed that the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be solved during this session of the UN General Assembly; that is, by next autumn. In his view now is not the time to apply for membership in the world organization since it is not likely that such a demand would be supported. This question could be solved as part of a "global package solution" to the Yugoslav crisis at the Geneva conference, he said.

Until then the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will also keep their old passports since this is also related to the question of our country's status, Djukic said.

Rights Minister Says Sanctions Spurring Progress

LD0812160892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 8 (TANJUG)—Momcilo Grubac, the Yugoslav minister for human rights and the rights of national minorities, said on Tuesday [8 December] that the protection of human rights in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) was a precondition for the lifting of sanctions and Yugoslavia's inclusion in the international community.

The United Nations Security Council introduced economic and political sanctions against the F.R.Y. late in May because of its alleged involvement in the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Concerning the rights of national minorities, Grubac said the idea about special status and national autonomy was hardly likely to be accepted. Grubac told a news conference on the World Day of Human Rights on December 10 [as received], that this would be possible in a national state, but was incompatible with the concept of a state of citizens which is the objective.

Besides basic civil rights, minorities should also be given special minority rights which would be guaranteed through local self-government as a more natural, easier and effective way of protection than ethnic autonomy.

Grubac said his ministry had launched a campaign for Yugoslavia to adopt modern code of rights of ethnic minorities, in keeping with existing conditions in the Yugoslav community.

Grubac also said that, when international commissions assess human rights conditions in Yugoslavia, they do not see the existing conditions, war, economic crisis and sanctions and thus finding that only Serbs are guilty of human rights violations.

Serbia

Court Ruling Allows Panic To Run for President

LD0912105492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The Supreme Court of Serbia this morning upheld a complaint by Milan Panic and his supporters, thus enabling him officially to be put on the list of presidential candidates, Miladin Maric, deputy president of the Supreme Court of Serbia, told TANJUG.

According to him, the court's decision is final and will be submitted to the republic's Electoral Commission later today.

Panic Reacts to Court Ruling

LD0912143092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 9 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic today reacted to the ruling by the Supreme Court of Serbia, which upheld his candidacy for president of the Republic of Serbia by issuing the following statement:

"I am pleased that I have finally entered the election race. I am glad that the Supreme Court acted freely and independently and in line with the law. I thank the Serb people for their support which helped me to put my name on the list. I will count on their continued support toward my victory on 20 December.

"Although the media have not so far been honest in presenting my candidacy and although I was unlawfully taken off the list halfway through the campaign, I am convinced that, despite all that, I will win in the elections, because the Serb people want a change. The people want economic changes. The people want peace, the people want to see the sanctions lifted, and I am the only candidate who can achieve all that.

"I challenge Slobodan Milosevic today in a free, honest, and open atmosphere to discuss these issues with me on Serb Television's first channel. This will enusre that the Serb people judge the candidates objectively. If the first channel is not prepared to organize such a debate, I will gladly give up my own allocated spot for such a key debate," Milan Panic said in his statement.

Draskovic Publicly Withdraws Presidential Bid

LD0812173492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serb Renaissance Movement [SPO], today publicly withdrew his candidacy for Serbia's presidency because, he claims, for inexplicable and unacceptable reasons the authorities have rejected his written withdrawal submitted by the deadline.

At a news conference, Draskovic said that the Electoral Commission's explanation that he had been late is groundless because under the law one's candidacy can be withdrawn until the final list of candidates has been drawn up.

"The presidential elections have become a clear mockery because only 12 days before the elections we do not even know who the candidates are," Draskovic said.

He added that the SPO will submit its written demand that the presidential elections be postponed and held one month after completion of the legislative elections and that the entire procedure be repeated.

The SPO chairman belives that the Depos will win the forthcoming elections but he nevertheless remains adamant that they should be boycotted.

"All the opposition parties are expected to sign a joint declaration on their boycott of the elections," Draskovic said.

He noted that the Depos will not sign this declaration unless it is signed by the Democratic Party.

Draskovic told the press that the "Vuk Ognjanovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, has frozen the SPO's money earmarked for its campaign" and, he claims, this was done "on Slobodan Milosevic's orders."

Reflecting to his three-day election tour of western Serbia, Draskovic said that these "rallies are attended perhaps by as many as 150,000 people."

"The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has ordered Belgrade television to keep silent about this, but we wonder why the press has ignored this tour?"

In this context he said that BORBA "has not done a glorious job" and also mentioned the newspaper POLITIKA, claiming that "Federal Information Minister Perisic replaced the SPS controllers on this newspaper."

Milosevic Candidacy Said To Violate Constitution

LD0812185592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1759 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—The Civil Alliance of Serbia (GSS) will challenge Slobodan Milosevic candidacy for Serbia's presidency for violation of the Constitution, announced Vesna Pesic, one of the GSS leaders and president of the Reformist Party, on Tuesday [8 December].

Citing the assessment of the GSS legal experts, Pesic explained that the Constitution is violated when someone is president of the Republic and president of a party at the same time and that law does not recognize such thing as "mandate freezing."

President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic was elected president of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia in late October, but he "froze the post."

Vesna Pesic also said that the democratic opposition would boycott the presidential elections if the Supreme Court accept the candidacy of Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic.

Unless election conditions, which change from minute to minute, do not improve, the elections in general could be boycotted, said Vesna Pesic.

Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serb Renewal Movement (SPO), publicly withdrew his candidacy for Serb presidency on Tuesday, because, according to him, the authorities turned down his written withdrawal.

Draskovic, leader of the strongest opposition party in parliament, assessed at a press conference that "the presidential elections have turned into a true farce, because the candidates are unknown only 12 days before the election date."

In addition to Draskovic, Dragan Vasiljkovic has also withdrawn his candidacy for the presidential elections scheduled for December 20. According to the decision of the Election Commission, both Vasiljkovic's and Draskovic's names will remain on the election list for [words indistinct] president.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic's participation in the presidential elections is also questionable. He filed his second complaint with Serbia's Supreme Court because the Election Commission removed his name from the election list.

As explained by the commission, Panic could not run in the elections because he has not been resident of Serbia for at least a year before the elections, as stipulated by the law.

TANJUG learned on Tuesday that the Supreme Court is supposed to reply to Panic's complaint on Wednesday afternoon. The decision could also be made by Serbia's parliament by abolishing the disputed election condition.

Draskovic stressed that the SPO would submit a written request for a postponement of presidential elections in Serbia and would propose that they be held a month and a half after the parliamentary elections and with a renewed procedure.

UN Convoy Denied Access to Muslim Enclave

LD0812132692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Zvornik, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Powerful explosions have been constantly ringing out in the Drina valley this morning, TANJUG's correspondent reports, quoting Serb military sources.

In the southern part of the Drina front line fierce artillery and infantry attacks on the Serb village of Snagovo are raging. The Serb villages of Lokanj, Pilica, and Bare northwest of Zvornik were also targeted over the past 24 hours from Teocak.

According to Serb military sources, during the night the green berets in the Kamenica area received numerous reinforcements from the direction of Cerska and Srebrenica.

A TANJUG correspondent from Zvornik reports that this morning at about 0400 GMT a UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] convoy of 17 trucks carrying humanitarian aid for Srebrenica was halted in Zvornik the moment it reached the left bank of the Drina River.

Lazar Pejic, deputy commander in the Zvornik garrison of the Army of the Serb Republic, said that not even the

slightest intention had been declared by anyone to the effect that the convoy was going to pass through Serb territory.

In his words, it is particularly odd that an infinitely longer route to Srebrenica has been chosen which for all practical purposes runs through the territory of the Serb Republic, from its point of departure via Vlasenica, Han Pijesak, Sokolac, and Rogatica.

The Serb Army's representative expressed his surprise at the fact that one of the shorter routes via Bratunac, or from Zvornik via Konjevic Polje, held by Muslim formations, had not been chosen.

Pejic said that the convoy could continue its journey only after its cargo was throughly searched and a comprehensive explanation was provided as to why this route, used for the first time, was chosen.

The Information Service of the Eastern Bosnia Corps has said that UNPROFOR refused to have its cargo searched.

Montenegro

League Sends Letter to Russian Communists

LD0812114192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 7 Dec 92

[Text] Podgorica, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Board of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia today sent an open letter to the Russian Communist Party congress stressing that the resumption of that party's legal work provides encouragement for all freedom-loving people in the world.

The dictatorship of world capital and the emergence of neofascism threaten to extinguish the last hope for people wanting to live by the fruits of their labor, the letter says. It then goes on to note that those who want to see the end of socialism and the communal spirit are also targeting Yugoslavia.

A war has been imposed on us, and you are threatened by one, the letter warns and expresses the hope that "the struggle against this evil" will be successful.

Macedonia

'Free Macedonia' Group Threatens Actions

LD0812213692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—An anonymous caller who claimed to be speaking on behalf of a hitherto unknown group called Free Macedonia [Slobodna Makedonija] told TANJUG by phone today that "a dozen Macedonians have gone to Athens," and that they would "throw tetraethyl lead" at the participants in the "anti-Macedonia demonstration" scheduled for 10 December in the Greek capital.

The caller, who spoke Serbian with a heavy Macedonian accent, refused to give his name, but said that after 10 December "everything about the new Macedonian organization will be revealed, including our names." The purpose of the threat, the alleged representative of the Macedonian group said, is to prevent the holding of the demonstration in Athens.

TANJUG's anonymous caller first said that the members of Free Macedonia are taking with them "10 liters of highly toxic tetraethyl lead, procured in the West at a high price," but later said that they would throw 100 liters of the poison.

The Greek Embassy in Belgrade told TANJUG that the alleged Free Macedonia group is totally unknown to them, and that so far there have been no threats in connection with the demonstration which is to be held in Athens on 10 December in support of the nonrecognition of the "Republic of Skopje" under the name of Macedonia.

Kosovo

Premier Seeks 'Immediate Intervention' of UN

AU0812184092 Tirana ATA in English 1139 GMT 8 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 8 (ATA)—The Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo reports that the premier of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, sent a letter to the UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. It says among the other things:

I have the honour to address you for an issue which needs your immediate intervention. Pristina, the capital city of Kosovo in the territory of former Yugoslavia, is again at the brink of the explosion that we have been trying to avoid for several years. Nevertheless, the maltreatment and persecution of two million Albanians not only assumed a systematic character, but it is becoming more and more provocative. We have been aware of the fact that the notorious scenario of Serbia will be employed in Kosovo in the severest form. The role of the UN for this year has assumed new dimensions. The small peoples will also ask for help from the provisions of the UN Charter. In this context we hail the decision for stationing UN forces in Macedonia as a measure to prevent the spread of conflict. But allow me, Mr. Secretary General, to remind you that prior to the conflict in Macedonia is Kosovo, where the conflict is in its climax and the United Nations must immediately take action, the ban of flights in Kosovo included. But more important than this is the stationing of the UN forces, says the premier of the Republic of Kosovo in the letter to Butrus-Ghali.